

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

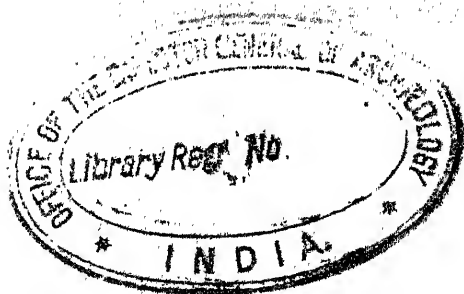
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MAN IN INDIA.

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

I. RACE ELEMENTS IN THE INDIAN VILLAGE CONSTITUTION.

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The Indian social structure is permeated by the aboriginal element from top to bottom, and it would be an interesting study to analyse the internal organisation of the primitive folks and communities in India, which have so far escaped absorption more or less. I have shown elsewhere how the primary and incipient structures of the Dravidian tribes have been assimilated into the social type and constitution of the Indian rural population.¹ The Bhils and the Santals show an elaborate system of social government on the basis of the *parha* units under the headship of the village headman and his deputies and officers. This is also the characteristic feature of the tribal organisations of the Kandhs of Orissa, though feudal tendencies have supervened and affected the tribal organisation materially. Among

¹ *Dravidian Elements in Indian Polity* in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. 3, and *The Village Panchayat*—a paper read at the Calcutta session of the Oriental Congress.

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the Māria Gonds, who show Dravidian institutions in their pristine form, the village Panchayat is confined in its jurisdiction to the village itself while a group of about 50 to 100 villages is organised into a *patti* acknowledging the authority of a chief called the *Sendia*.

A more advanced stage in village formation and settlement than that which the Kandh and Gond village represents is furnished by the Munda-Dravidian village (as we find it among the Mundās and Orāons for instance) in the Chōtā Nāgpur Districts.² We find here a very elaborate system of agrarian distribution and settlement, tribal government and centralised control. Bhuinhari lands are allotted to the descendants of the original founders, the headman or chief of the village (the common title 'Munda' for the headman suggests that the Dravidian and the Munda culture elements have mingled), the village priest and the regular staff of artisans and ménials, resident and entitled to their grain remuneration. There are also the *Māhto* or village accountant, the *Bhāṇḍari* or bailiff, the *Gorait* or watchman, and the *Añir* who looks after the village cattle. There are definite village boundaries and equitable arrangements for the distribution of land. The development of intensive cultivation and the increasing pressure of population have sometimes led to the stage of redistribution of certain classes of holdings held by non-privileged families and settlers. Exception is, however, made for lands for which permanent improvements or irrigation faci-

² Cf. District Gazetteers, Ranchi and Santal Parganas, and monographs on 'The Mundas' and 'The Oraons' by the Editor of this journal.

lities have been made. Tenant rights develop and are respected. The clearer of the jungle was the owner or spiritual head of the village or co-owner with his original associates, if he had any. Their descendants own the jungle out of which the village was made; all else are *prajas* or *ryots*. An elaborate code of agricultural and grazing customs, forest and irrigation rules also develop. The strongest attachment to land is manifested as well as the feeling of individual proprietary right transmitted from generations.

Originally the whole central table-land of Chotā Nāgpur was divided into *pārkhās* or rural communes, comprising from 10 to 25 villages, and presided over by a divisional chief, called the *rājā* or *mānki* of the *pārkhā*. But this element in the tribal village system is falling into decay. The *pārkhā* divisions, however, still exist in their entirety in many tracts; there are groups of from 10 to 24 villages, each of which has its own Munda or village head; while the whole commune is subject to a divisional headman called *Mānki* who in a few parhas still collects the fixed rents payable by the villagers as well as other dues such as road-cess and *rakumats*. Formerly the *Mānki* used to settle land and other disputes occurring in the group of villages under his jurisdiction, and also exercised general supervision. Indeed, the *Mānki* is an essential factor in the original political organisation of the Munda races and as such has existed everywhere among them, though not everywhere, under the same designation. Both among the Mundas and the Orāons, the original social organisation of the *pārkhā* and the political

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organisation of the Patti still survive. Among the Mundas,³ for instance, in the Bhuinhari area of Ranchi, each pārhā consists of 8 to 12 villages; in parts of the Bhuinhari area all the Bhuinhars or the descendants of the original settlers in the villages of a pārhā being members of one kilī or sept. In each Parha there is a standing committee or Panchayat with permanent officers whose titles such as Rājā, Diwan, Thākur, Lāl, Pānde and Kartā have been borrowed from their Hindu neighbours. The head of the Pārhā for social purposes is the Kartā and for political purposes was the Mānki, the name and office of whom survive in a few tracts, since the Hindu land-lords destroyed their independence. In some dependent tenures in Singbhum, as well as among the Hos and the Santāls the manki has still retained his office. In the Khuntkatti area of Ranchi the names Manki and *patti* still survive. There is no standing committee and there are no permanent officials, and the Panchayat is composed, when occasion requires, of secular and sacerdotal headmen of the villages included in the Pattis, under the presidency of the Pat-Munda or occasionally of the Mānki. In cases of minor disputes a private Panchayat consisting of members of the same sept or village is convened. A president or Sir Panch is elected and he, with the aid of the two assessors, selected by each party, decides the question at issue. May not the title of the President as well as the procedure have spread far beyond the confines of Chota Nagpur and percolated through all the

³ Cf. S. C. Roy, *The Munda*.

lower strata of the Hindu community? Similarly among the Oraons the Parha Panchayat is still to be found exercising its jurisdiction over a group of villages; all matters affecting a whole village and not merely individual disputes between villages, matters of religion, dates of festivals, disputes about flags as well as customary rules of sport and hunt are decided by the meeting of the Parha Panchayat which is periodically held. The Parha Panchayat is presided over either by a Kartaha or Mukhya. This assembly is a court of appeal against the decisions of the village Panchayats; it also deals with offences against caste and tribal custom. The office of the Kartaha is hereditary; that of the Mukhya is only held so long as the holder is fit to perform his duties. Most of the other Dravidian tribes and septs have also similar Panchayat organisations. The Rautias, probably Dravidian in their original affinities, have a representative assembly for groups of from five to fifteen villages called Mandala which is presided over by a hereditary official known as the Mahant. May not the standing assembly of the Panchayat and the Mandali or circle of five, seven, ten or hundred villages in Bengal and elsewhere have their original affinities in these vital Dravidian or Munda institutions?

Nowhere has the original political organisation of the Munda races, the indigenous village system based upon a federal union of villages under a subdivisional headman seen at its best than among the Hos of Singbhum⁴ who under a suitable system of protec-

⁴ Cf. *District Gazetteer, Singbhum*.

tive administration have still retained intact much of the original social organisation. The indigenous organisation has been adhered to at the settlements and it is significant that the British administration has utilised tribal government and tenures. The whole of Kolhan is divided into groups of 5 to 20 villages, each under a Manki or divisional headman; the latter are all subject to the authority of the Mankis, who are assisted by Tahsildars or village accountants, and by Dakuas or constables appointed by the Mankis. Every Munda is responsible for the payment of the revenue, and for the detection and the arrest of criminals in his village to the Manki, who is in his turn is responsible to Government. For acting as revenue collectors, the Mankis receive a commission of 10 per cent and the Mundas 16 per cent of the revenue which passes through their hands. Besides these duties, the Mankis and Mundas each in their degree have certain informal powers to decide village disputes and questions of tribal usage.

It is an easy transition from the advanced type of the Munda-Dravidian village in south-western Bengal and Chota Nagpur area to the village communities of the Madras Presidency. The resemblance is more manifest particularly in the West Coast districts of the south. In Malabar and Coorg, where democratic tribal traditions are still vital and potent in the formation of economic and social structures though feudal and monarchical tendencies have sometimes supervened.

All over the south of India, we have living traces of clan division. The basis of the territorial organisation, coming down from very early times in

the south was the Nad or Nadu. Such clan divisions form indeed the natural land-mark for defining the jurisdiction of kingdoms and of chiefships such as those of the ancient Cheras, Cholas, Pandayans or the Poligars. Remnants of this tribal, territorial organisation are, however, most evident in Malabar and Coorg. In Malabar, the Nadu divisions are still governed on a clan basis and the Nadukuttams or meetings represent the democratic tribal gatherings like those of the Kandhs or of the Oraons. The Takka among the Coorgs corresponds to the Muttha among the Kandh tribes and is comprehended within the Nad or clan region. The Simatoka corresponds to the chief of a whole district or region to be found among all Munda and Dravidian tribes throughout India.

The South-Western coast of India has remained in comparative geographical isolation and has been more or less free from the encroachments of the centralised state. Malabar never submitted to Mahomedan government, and Mahomedan supremacy lasted for not more than 30 years. In the Malayalam country the territorial unit of organisation for civil purposes is the *tara*. The *tara* consists of several Nayar houses called *tarwards*. Each *tarward* consists of the mother and her children. The senior male member, who is called the *Karnavan*, is the *Karta* of the family. The *Karnavans* of each *tarward* originally formed the assembly which conducted the affairs of the *Tara*. From these *Karnavans* were elected *Mukhyastars*, *Pramanigal*, and *Tathastar* (chief man). They convened meetings (*kutams*) of the *nadu* or *nad* and placed before them

the matters to be discussed, and carried out the decision of the assemblies. According to the number of houses, the assembly was called the three hundred, the five hundred, the six hundred. In a South Travancore inscription, dated 371 M. E., the organisation is referred to as Vexat-Taranuru, or the six hundred of Venad, and one of their duties evidently related to the working of temples and charitable institutions connected therewith. As a Venad was divided into 18 districts in ancient days, there might have been altogether eighteen six hundred in the country (N. Subramani Aiyar). But it is chiefly as a political body that they played a most important part in the history of the country as a bulwark against the tyranny and oppression of the Rajas. "These Nayars, being heads of the Calicut people, resemble the parliament, and do not obey the kings' dictates in all things, but chastise his minister when they do unwarrantable acts,"—so records the diary of the Tellicherry Factory, 1746 (quoted in Thurston's *South Indian Tribes and Castes*). Once in twelve years the Nayars of Kerala used to meet on the banks of the Bharata river at a place called Thirunavayi. In this 'parliament' (*mahamukham*) every dispute not settled was discussed and decided.⁵ This parliament as well as the assemblies of the nadus were convened either by the Rajas or the people themselves. The meetings called by the people served to protect them from the oppression of their rulers. This system seems to have retained

⁵ After the meeting of maha-mukham ceased to be held an assembly used to meet regularly at Madhailakam and afterwards at Trichur in the Brahmarswa-Matham.

its efficiency down to the time of the British occupation. With the advent of British rule their political and executive power declined, but this has not prevented their rights of social government from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse. All the adult members of each tarward in a Kara take part in the general meeting usually held at the Kara-Yogam temple attached to the Kara or *desam* (or the *tara* and the *anisam*), which is still the territorial unit. Near the temple there are the tank and the banyan tree with its platform (*al-tara*) or a wooden platform (*thathu*). The assembly is often called *nizhalilirika*, (a sitting under the shade) presided over by the Asan and passes rules of social government. The Asan and the four leading *viranmars* meet and discuss details of the conduct of social ceremonies in particular houses enjoining all to help by contributions and manual labour. They collect fees on *talikettu*, *sambandham*, or death. Every Nayar house would also reserve one or more cocoanut trees for the common fund and pay contributions towards the periodical festivals and ceremonies of the temple. The Karayogam has also to meet the expenses of communal amusements and recreations,—village plays which dramatise stories from the Puranas, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The artisans, menials and functionaries of the Karayogam are the carpenter, the blacksmith, the *thandan*, the barber, the washerman, the goldsmith, the astrologer, the *maran*, the *tantri* and the *embranchuri*. All other important castes including the Puleyas as well as the Christians also have their *karayogams* while

the Brahmans have their *Sabhas* and *samuhams* in their *gramams* and *agrahmerams* but the menials and functionaries are different: the village in every case shows the same corporate spirit in the decision of disputes, and the autonomous social and economic management.

In Cochin the fishermen congregated in their Karas or Kadavus (literally, shore) have their headman called Valia-aravar who is appointed by the royal seal and is given a sword with a gilt handle. Below him are the *aravars*, who are heads of Karas. The Ponamdans carry out the orders received by the Vali-aravars from the Sarkar and from the community, which is distributed over a large number of villages. Similarly the Izhavas have their headman called the Thadan, the Adhikari of seven *desams* or villages and the Kurny Chettys their Valiamupan with their class of secondary dignitaries and officers. All castes including the hill tribes have their headmen and officers with corresponding functions entrusted to them by the rulers of Malabar. In Travancore the headmen of the Izhava caste are the Channans and Panikhans invested with these titles by the Rajas, and the limits of their jurisdiction were generally fixed in the charters (*titturams*) received by them from their rulers. Their authority has remained supreme within these jurisdictions in all social matters though this is being ousted by the present tendency towards centralisation. The socio-juridical organisation in the South West coast is based upon the family group into which the various tribes and castes have been divided in their settlement in the country, each with more or less defined

territorial limits. The Brahmans are grouped in *grāmes*, the Nayars and other castes in *therus* and *cheris*, and the affairs of the community are under the management of the headmen and a secondary class of dignitaries (Gramini, Karnavan, Mudalal, Thandan). The territorial units are the *tara* and *cheri*, and later the *desham* and *ulldesham* (village and hamlet), with its institution of headmen (also called Pati, Deshadhepati, Deshwali, etc.), hereditary village servants (Cheri-Janmakar) and village punchayat and the system of police and watch-ward of many grades down to the village watch and finally the *nadu* or *nada*, a whole district, with its *kootams* or assemblies of several hundreds.

In Coorg the socio-juridical organisation is of the same type. The territorial unit is the *ur* or village which consists of several *manes* or farming houses. The Takka assisted by the village elders looks after the village management. The *nad* or district and the *sime* or region represent the larger administrative divisions in the indigenous system. The Takka decides cases of immorality, violation of caste rules, or social etiquette relating to the national dress, attendance at all important village festivals, etc. If the Takka cannot settle a dispute, he convenes a *nada Panchayat*. If the parties cannot accommodate themselves in the presence of the *nada* and *mukyastama*, the question is referred to the *simatoka*. Every *nad* has three to five *takkas*; there are four *simatokas* in Coorg proper. This system of government by *takkas*, *nadas* and *simatokas* had formerly an elective basis. Even now it is still playing an important part in matters of

rural economy, domestic morality, village custom, petty dispute and religious observance.

We thus see the elements of the Munda and Dravidian communal village and tribal organisation surviving in the social and economic structure. Enumerating briefly the characteristics of the Munda-Dravidian polity we have the following: (1) territorial division and sub-division of the tribe and clans ; (2) tribal jurisdictions as well as central and local government by panchayats presided over by village headmen and acknowledging the authority of a divisional chief ; (3) the communal control of the unoccupied waste or forest and an agrarian economy under the scattered field system ; (4) the communal employment of a staff of village officers, artisans and menials who are given plots of land out of the village settlements ; (5) the communal apportionment of revenue burdens, services, etc. according to the tribal hierarchy ; and (6) the reservation of a plot of land for the worship of the local gods. In the old Munda-Dravidian villages in South-West Bengal, the hereditary and originally tribal character of the village chief is obvious, and the first form of the interference of the State was not that of adopting the headman but of supplementing him by a second officer who could keep accounts of the king's revenue share of the grain, and who was called Mahato, and afterwards pandya, patwari, karan and other local titles. Something of the same kind is the typical form in the South-West coast of India. In the village of the Dakhan Districts of Bombay, traces of the ancient Dravidian allotment of lands for the headman, the accountant and others of the village

staff are equally universal. The *watan* land, occasionally held as *imam* or free of revenue charge is confined to the headman, the *kulkarni*, and to the Mahar watchman. But in other parts, in Berar, for instance, the barber, the sweeper, and other village-servants had their petty service lands, at least when these grants had not been absorbed, as they sometimes were, by some great chieftains of later times. It is remarkable that *Manu* allows certain revenue officers the privilege of a certain area free of charge and that this landed privilege is assigned to the chief of a small group of villages. Thus the king adopts the older organisation of agricultural society as he appoints a head of each village, a head of a small group of ten, and a head of a district of hundred (*desmukh*), etc.⁶

In Chota Nagpur and the adjoining districts of Chhatisgarh we find every stage of village organisation developed by the Munda-Dravidian. and races. The latter were as great colonisers as the Rajputs; and the centre of their organisation in Chota Nagpur is as important as Oudh and Rajputana which give us the best data for reconstructing the Rajput or Aryan social organisation.⁷ First we find in the Munda constitution the divisions of the tribal territory into a number of villages, each under its own headman (the Munda) and also the union of ten or twelve adjoining villages (the Parha), having its own tribal priest. Secondly, in the Gond villages of Chhatisgarh, we find the headman assisted by four or more officials, composing the village

⁶ Baden-Powell, *Study of the Dakhan villages*, J. R. A. S., 1897.

⁷ Cf. Baden-Powell, *Land systems of British India*.

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Panchayat. Thirdly, the transition to the elaborately organised villages of the Oraons (Dravidians) amongst whom the Panchayat is composed of the elders of the village including the Munda or the village headman, the Pahan or village priest and Mahto or the village accountant—an official who ultimately became the prototype of the Karan and the Patwari of the Bengal and the North-West, the Kulkarni of Bombay and the Karnam of the South. Except the Pahan, these officers do not like the Munda and Gond headman hold a separate tract of land as an appanage of their office but they have allotments in the three cultivated tracts of land set apart for the clans of Bhuinhars or original settlers whence the Munda, Pahan, or Mahto are chosen. Lands have been held in communal tenures; redistribution has been the practice until lately, and in this not only the land held by the subordinate cultivators but also those of the headman have come into the common stock. The Dravidians who superimposed the central government of the Rajas over the simpler and more primitive tribal type of village organisation eclipsed the authority of the Mankis who thus dropped into secondary position, converted the lots reserved for the old tribal Manjhis and Bhuinhars into royal demesne and continued the petty allotments made for the village and district gods (Gramdeoti, Desauli etc.) adding to them the reserved trees or the sacred village grove or again the reserved allotment for the mother-goddess worshipped in various parts of India in images made of wood as Devi, Bhagwati, etc. Allotments for the support of artisans and village menials including the

watchman were also made or continued, and a steward or headman in the royal interest called *Mahto* was grafted on to the old village staff, and he was provided with an ex-officio landholding like the earlier village officials. It is characteristic that throughout the South, the holding of land in virtue of hereditary village office or service (*Manyam*) is everywhere known. The *Wattan* or land held ex-officio by village headmen and continued by Mahomedan administration in Central and Western India is a distinct Dravidian institution. The sacred groves common to the Munda and Dravidian tribes and the institution of the royal demesne worked by menials in many parts of India, as we find in Coorg, for instance, are distinct aboriginal survivals. Feudatory estates, jagirs, taluqdaris, and zemidaris in the Central Provinces and Berar are similarly the distinct vestiges of the strong central government of the Gonds who placed the great Raja in the most important domain and grouped the other territories into greater or lesser chief's estates, around the former. Similarly in Malabar we find the rajas occupying the central territory and the lesser chieftains grouped around him in sub-feudal relationship. The outlying districts of a conquered territory were, in the Dravidian scheme, usually occupied by chiefs (Ghatwals of Chota Nagpur and Southern and Western Bengal, and Poligars of Southern India) who were wardens of extensive marches, and their successors at this day occupy the position of considerable zemindars. In fact, large estates belonging to single owners in different parts of India owe their origin in many cases to the strong

Dravidian rule by chiefs and their Sardars. The Dravidians, indeed, founded and consolidated the present land revenue system of India. The Mahomendans, the Maharattas and the British have successfully grafted on the Dravidian village organisation their own officials, patels, or desmukhs or pandyas for the systematic collection of the revenue, or utilised the old officials, the Manki headman and the Dravidian accountants. They recognised the hereditary rights of certain leading families, "proprietors" who built the forts round which the huts of the villagers cluster, continued the jagirs and smaller grants, and in many cases retained even the allotments for the village menials and the village gods⁸.

The village or family groups aggregated into unions called *nadus* with some kind of chief, acting in assemblies, represent clearly in South India the same continuity of the Dravidian system of the central government of chiefs or rajas superadded to the more primitive republican system, characterised as it is by divisions of the territory on a tribal basis under the hereditary headmen of the villages and the chiefs or headmen in council. In village and city planning the division of the Indian village or city into *pārhas* and *pattis* each with its central site, the residence of the headman is a replica of the Dravidian division of the tribal region into Parhas or Desams or Pattis each having its central village, such as the Chaputa village of a manki-patti in Chota Nagpur. Such a territorial division is still to

be found where Dravidian institutions survive, or where Dravidian influence made itself felt as in the eastern regions of the Mediterranean, Asia Minor and South Western Asia along the old Indian trade routes⁹. The question may be discussed whether any affinities of the Munda-Dravidian village settlement and organisation with the institution found among the more primitive and autochthonous tribes in South India, Madagascar, Lower Burma or the Malaya Peninsula can give the anthropologist a clue to the solution of the vexed question of social origins in Southern Asia. The division of the tribal territory and central and local government by councils presided over by village headmen and acknowledging the authority of a divisional chief are found among many of the primitive tribes in South Eastern Asia and the Malaya-Archipelago. In Sumatra, each village is divided into sections called *Sukas*, the *tolas* or hamlets of a Dravidian village, and while each *suka* elects its headman, the headship of the village is hereditary, as is that of the *marga* or union of villages, answering to the Dravidian *pārha*. In Fiji, each village has its headman who is called Turunga Nikoro, and the provincial chief Mballi, who exactly answers to the Dravidian Manki, while the supreme master of the confederated provinces or *pārhas* is called Roko. These Fijians also, like the Marya or tree Gonds and other forest tribes who are descended directly from the matriarchal tree-worshippers, and not partly from the sons of the

⁹ See J. R. A. S., 1899, pages 329—56.

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mountain, like the Mundas and their congeners, treat the children born from parents belonging to the confederacy as children of the village where they are born, and bring up all the boys and young men together in a building exactly answering to the Dhumkuria or bachelor's hall of some Indian forest races, while the girls are brought up by a village matron. They are also, like the Dravidians of the Madras and Malabar coasts, experienced and adventurous seamen, who have, like the Northern Vikings, learnt without foreign assistance how to make canoes fit for distant voyages¹⁰. The proto-Dravidians were the first rice-growers and it was they who followed communal methods in agriculture and established the elaborately organised system of communal economy and village government. There has been a good deal of ethnic intermixture and superposition of the successive economic and social stages, each marking a rise in organisation which has only faint survivals. There has also been a great deal of migration in ancient times and the institution of the village community has travelled, like other things, far and wide. It is believed by some that it was by way of the Euphrates valley that the Indian village communities made their way into Europe, for their village system is exactly reproduced in that of Palestine, where at the present day the lands are every year distributed among the cultivators exactly in the way that is usual in India. It was there that they apparently first found out how to make the grasses develop into wheat and barley, good

¹⁰ Hewitt, J. F., *The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, pp. 55.

substitutes for their Indian grass developed into rice or ragi. Thus it is probable that while the domestic animals came to Europe from West Central Asia the older staple crops appear to have come from South East Asia, from Asia Minor or Northern Palestine. The system of rural economy and village settlement ultimately found its way into Western Europe where it had a different and chequered career. These are matters which cannot be finally decided before evidence in the following directions converge; the anthropometric affinities of racial types, the affinities in language, myth and social customs as well as the testimony of stone, iron and wood implements in the diverse regions marked by homogeneity in physical and social types and species.

But some of the Indian evidence is sufficiently clear and definite. The Panchayats or the village councils and the village or ward policemen as well as the allotments of lands for village officials and menials are, however, the most vital of the Munda-Dravidian survivals, still found wherever the social composition shows a large aboriginal admixture. The Panchayats and the communal villages have not been obscured whether by the Mitakshara and Dayabhaga codes of property, or by the Mahomedan super-imposition of over-lords, fiefs and feudal tenures or again by the British super-imposition of the rights of individual property. In Bengal the unions of villages in a circle, *mandala* and *panchagrāma* or five villages, the officers now called the *mandalika* and the *panchagrāmika*, the divisions of villages and urban congregations into *parhas* and *pattis*, and the

larger divisions now called parganas have their original affinities with Munda institutions. In the gradual process of absorption of the Munda-Dravidians to the Hindu social organisation, we find survivals of their polity in the panchayats of almost all the non-Brāhman castes. In matters of social administration each caste is an autonomous unit having its headman and peon and often its vice-headman. Appeals against the decision of the village-headman, whose jurisdiction extends over each endogamous subdivision of the caste or tribe in each village, are referred to a higher tribunal consisting usually of a council of these headmen, presided over by the tribal or caste-chief, or head. This tribunal exercises its authority over a number of villages, the number varying with the strength and distribution of the communities concerned. In South India the territorial jurisdiction of such a tribunal is variously known as a Nadu or Patti, both of which denote old tribal divisions of the Dravidians. In most castes the decision of the second court are subject to a third or even to a fourth tribunal, the constitution of which varies with almost every caste. In some castes several Nads are grouped together under the jurisdiction of an officer called Pattakharam, Periya-Nattan, Peria-Dorai, Padda Ejaman, Raja, Gadi-Nattan, etc. Sometimes the decisions of Pattakars are referred to a board of Pattakars; and sometimes, when Brahmanical influence is stronger, to a guru. Such are the vestigial remains of the old Munda-Dravidian tribal organisation, seen in its purer form even to-day in Chota Nagpur, Malabar, Cochin and Coorg, with

its divisions of tribal territory into a number of villages, each under its headman, its groups and unions of villages called *pārḥās* or *Pattis* or *Nadus* and the hierarchy of tribunals composed of the board of headmen presided over by a chief or a *Raja* who still exercises a certain vague supremacy over a group of tribal divisions. Caste administration is of a strictly hierarchical character like tribal administration; and monarchical or republican forms survive as vestiges of the older tribal types. In each caste tribunal, again, we find the two assessors selected by each party advocating each side of the case before the *Panchayat* as we find in the tribal councils among the *Mundas* and *Oraons*, for instance, in *Chota Nagpur*. Among almost all South Indian castes matrimonial disputes are sent after a preliminary enquiry by the village headman to the head of the *Nadu* who decides them with the help of a few village headmen. This is clearly a vestige of the *Dravidian* custom of the sanction of marriages by the chief. Turning to the agrarian settlement, we find that in the *Munda-Dravidian* village organisation *khunt* lots are divided into blocks, one for the chief's descendants, one for the *mahto's* and one for the tribal priest's. Vestigial remains of this are still to be found among many *Dravidian* tribes and castes in the south who still set apart the fines levied by the *Panchayat* under three heads, for the *Sirkar*, for the members of the *panchayat* and for the priest. In *Sandur State*, *Bellary*, the first third is still paid into the state coffers, whence it is handed over to deserving charities. Among the *Pallans* of South India, a fine of Rs. 1½ is thus apportioned; 10 as.

goes to the Aramanai, i. e., palace or government; 5 as. towards feasting the villages; the Ilangali and Odumpillai receive $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas each, the barber and dhobi get 1 anna each. The village sweeper or scavenger, Kulawadi tothi, or kutwar, as he is differently called, is the guardian of the village boundaries, and his opinion was often taken as authoritative in all cases of disputes about land in many parts of India. This position he perhaps occupied as a representative of the pre-Aryan tribes, the oldest residents of the country, and his appointment may have also been partly based on the idea that it was proper to employ one of them as the guardian of the village lands, just as the priest of the village gods of the earth and fields was usually taken from these tribes. The reason for their appointment seems to be that the Hindus still look on themselves to some extent as strangers and interlopers in relation to the gods of the earth and of the village, and consider it necessary to approach these through the medium of one or other member of the non-Aryan communities, who were former owners of the soil. The words Bhumka and Bhuniya for the village priest both mean the lord of the soil or belonging to the soil.¹¹ But with regard to the common ownership of the pasture lands, water-courses and the village temples in the Indo-Aryan village community, it would be difficult to say whether Munda or Dravidian institutions found ready to hand were copied or whether they were natural outgrowths of early Aryan tribal con-

¹¹ Cf. Russel, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*.

ditions or whether they were inevitable under the conditions of Indian economic geography and physiography. We find in Manu that grazing grounds are the common property of the village; the people encroaching upon them are liable to penalties; and Yajnavalkya also lays down substantially the same rule. This was so even as early as the Vedic age when it was called Khila or khilya, as surrounding the plough land. The village land appears also to include adjoining forest tracts over which the entire village has a common right. Besides these there were the water course, the village temple and the village gods, which were the communal properties of the entire village. And even with regard to the arable land occupied or cultivated by the villagers which was considered to be the separate property of the joint families, we find a trace of the communal right of the village in the rule that such lands could not be alienated without the consent of the entire village (Mitakshara, Chap. I, Sec. 1). In such cases the question of origins is not easy to solve. A nearly certain test of Munda-Dravidian affinities may be found in the regional prevalence of the worship of local spirits, and the sacredness ascribed to the earth, fields and trees. This anthropological test should be applied for discrimination between Dravidian or Aryan political forms and institutions. Again, the data furnished by comparative ethnology help us a great deal in finding out the gradation of social values in Aryan origin and development and in isolating, accordingly, the distinctive features of the Aryan polity.

Thus difficult though it may be to sift the Aryan

observances and rural practices, we may yet enumerate briefly the characteristics which bear upon the evolution of the Aryan village community.

(1) The Aryan settlement corresponds to the Munda-Dravidian division of tribes and villages into exogamous clans; but unlike the latter these are not totemistic but eponymous. Common descent from a saint replaces connection of totem even as the holding of land in common supersedes tribal bonds under the control of a local chieftain.

(2) Unlike the organisation of a Munda-Dravidian settlement which exhibits tribal government and a more or less centralised control under the divisional chieftain as well as elected or hereditary clan-chiefs, subsequently utilised as wardens of the outlying regions and connected by feudal ties, the Aryan settlement partakes of the nature of a group of self-governing village communities bound together by common descent, and paying a share of the crop (collected at harvest time on the village threshing floor) to the local Raja. The Hindu raja's portions are usually allotted by counting groups of 82, 42, or 24 villages, which still survive in various parts of Upper India. Local clan chiefs with appropriate allotments of territory all round pay no revenue to the Raja but help him with aids in time of war. This system of chiefs in subordination to the king differs from the western type of monistic feudalism in this that they are held together by slenderest bonds, the fiefs being sometimes actually moveable unconnected with ownership of land. The king makes no claim to be owner of the soil; the chiefs exercise a co-ordinate quasi-independent jurisdiction;

and both the king and his chiefs are bound together by clan relationship. This has been the general feature in the purely Aryan settlements as in Mewar, Oudh and Orissa. The more perfect form of the Hindu state or the mere local lordship of the thakurs or rawats, rajas or ranas, taluqdars or zemindars, adventurous kshatriyas or scions of noble houses in almost all parts of India show this peculiar type of pluralistic feudalism with its estates and village communities on the Aryan clan basis.

(3) The Aryan tribal settlement brings into fore ethnic distinctions by creating two classes of villagers, the original conquerors or settlers or their descendents and strangers or new settlers from whom a fee of superiority is levied. Cultivators other than the proprietary body are their tenants though the manner in which this liability is distributed is different in different parts of the country. This distinction between a privileged and a non-privileged class is now most marked in the Panjab, the United Provinces and Oudh, in the Rajput and Kunbi settlements in Western India. Such a distinction is always associated with conquest or usurpation by superior agricultural clans, castes and families or with grants of lands made by rulers and is not to be found in settlements and expansions by a gradual peaceful process where there were no superimposed rights, at least as a general rule. Thus develops a distinction between what Baden Powell calls a landlord and a ryotwary village community.

(4) Though tribal divisions of the territory are equally marked, the Munda-Dravidian system of the

allotments of land set apart for the services of the chief of the district and the elaborately organised system of remuneration of village officers, *servi*, bondsmen and hired labourers are absent. Village and district officers, originally appointive and eventually hereditary looked after the collection of the king's share in the crop and attested any sale of village lands in the Aryan scheme.

(5) The Aryan clans superimpose upon the agrarian distribution an elaborate kinship and caste organisation according to which rights and duties in the village communities are determined. Lands are sub-divided among the various share-holders, at first into large family sub-divisions and these again into smaller shares on inheritance according to Hindu law. The proprietary body at the outset probably held their lands jointly in one or more of the forms in which joint tenure is possible, but subsequently lands were sub-divided into definite family shares. The *Samudayam* (Sanskrit) implies collective proprietary rights which was universal throughout the Brāhman settlement in the Tamil country and still prevails in many villages in every part of it; the periodical division of the cultivated lands of the village is not entirely forgotten in Tinnevely, while in Tanjore, Madura, Dindigul, etc. the villager still claims to participate in the common lands, tanks, irrigation channels, threshing floors, burial grounds, cattle stands, etc., or to use them according to the share or parts of a share he holds in the proprietary body.

(6) The local spirits or boundary godlings and deities of the forest where the village clearing was

made are gradually superseded by household and village gods as well as ancestral deities though these latter are equally important in the Munda socio-religious system. The periodical sacrifices in the village temple which replace the older communal feasts serve to knit together the village community, and a close intercourse with strange and impure aboriginal races is avoided, though they are given some functions, as watch and ward, drummers, sweepers etc., in the village festivals.

(7) The Aryan village community follows the open field system, each of the equitable sub-divisions of arable allotment being often given an appropriate name from the epics. It recognises the joint ownership of the common land among the proprietary body which is available for partition, or for lease on behalf of the community, or is used for grazing *etc.* It equalises rights as regards meadow, waste or forest. But it recognises much fuller and further than the Dravidians the sacred and inalienable rights of families and individual households, independent alike of communal laws and communal economy.

(8) As contrasted with the Dravidian promiscuity, the Indo-Aryan family stands forth before the world as free and self-supporting. Gardens or orchards are attached to individual houses; though the common forest which is such a marked feature in the Dravidian village community is also to be seen.

(9) The Aryans superimpose an elaborate village planning, stamped with ethnic distinction in

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the segregation of caste wards and with the symbolism of the Puranas in the location of the presiding deities of the village and in the arrangement of village streets, courts, quadrangles and temples.*

* This paper was read at the tenth session of the Indian Science Congress at Lucknow, 1923.

II. A SHORT NOTE ON THE PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE KADARS OF THE COCHIN HILLS, AND THEIR PRESENT SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION.

BY RAO BAHADUR ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER, B. A.,
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I. Introduction.

More than twenty years ago only two members of the Kadar tribe were available for measurement, because of their habitat in inaccessible localities of the hilly tracts. Since then, times have changed. Owing to the clearing of forest by the cutting of timber, and the introduction of tram for its transportation to the plains for sale, the localities in which the Kadars dwell can now be approached by any one who wishes to see them. My memoir on these children of the forest was prepared about sixteen years ago; and to study their present social and economic conditions their localities were visited by me in October last, when the measurements of as many as 70 members of the tribe were taken by me. A short account of the results of my investigations is given below.

(2) Physical characters :—

The Kadars number according to the last census about 300.

They live in forests at an elevation of more than 1200 ft., the climate of which is very unhealthy, except perhaps during the rainy season when the malarial matter is washed off by the rains. The members of the tribe who appeared before me were

of the medium type; some were thin and sickly, a few were stout. On the whole, their physical condition is not such as can be desired, on account of their probable intermingling with the lowcaste men of the plains.

Colour of the hair:—The colour of the hair on the heads of men was black, and a majority of them had the hair well tended and smoothened with cocoanut oil, so that it was somewhat difficult to accurately note its characteristics. Some of the males had curly hair and some woolly, while others had straight. There was an abundant growth of hair on the heads of males and females, but not on the face and body. A few of them had moustaches. The Kadar women so tended and smoothened the hair with cocoanut oil that they looked like the low caste Sudra women of the plains. The hair is tied into a knot behind. Some wear even false hair in order that the knot may appear big and beautiful, which is the sign of feminine beauty.

The head Form:—The form of the head is for racial purposes measured by what is known as cephalic index, when it rises above 80, the head is called brachy-cephalic or broad-headed, and when it falls below 75, the term dolico-cephalic or long-headed is applied to it. Indices below 75 and 80 are characterised as mesocephalic. This is a factor which is of great assistance in the rapid identification of racial types. There is a correlation between the proportions of the head and the form of the face. The rule—long head oval face, and short head round face, may be safely adopted. Judged by these standards the Kadars are distinctly long-headed. The flattening

of the occiput which is said to be very prevalent among the brachy-cephalic races of America and Asia is unknown among the Kadars. "The form of the head" says Ripley, "is the expression of racial difference, and is free from all disturbance of physical environment. It is further uninfluenced by climate, food supply, economic status or habits of life". From the measurements of 70 Kadar males, the average cephalic index was found to be 72. 4, the maximum and the minimum being 79 and 68 respectively. From this it follows that the shape of the face is long and oval, and the profile is concave.

Eyes :—The colour of the iris of both men and women is dark, coupled with various shades of brown.

Nose :—The shape of the nose in the case of the men and women is generally short, broad and straight. The average nasal index is 90, the maximum and the minimum being 108 and 73 respectively. The chin is narrow and the lips are medium. The upper lips are not turned upwards. The Kadars are orthognathous. Their ears are small and finely developed.

Tooth chipping :—Both young Kadar men and girls chip their teeth with a file in the form of a sharp pointed but not serrated cone. The operation is performed either before marriage or before they come of age. It is said to be common in the Malaya Peninsula where the practice of filing the teeth and blackening them is a prelude to marriage. It also prevails among certain tribes of Africa and Australia. The practice helps them to easily eat the hardest roots.

Colour of the skin :—Both Kadar men and women are of dark complexion. Some are sooty black, while others are dark brown. Their dress is generally scanty and there is no difference in colour between the parts of their bodies exposed and those unexposed. Curiously enough a boy of twelve years of age betrayed the colour of one belonging to a higher caste, and evidently this leads to a suspicion of some intermixture for which there is ample scope. Regarding colour, it is said that pigmentation arises from the disposition of colouring matter in a special series of cells which lie between the translucent outer skin or epidermis and the inner or true skin known as cutis. It was long supposed that the pigment cells were peculiar to the dark-skinned races, but investigation has shown that the structure in all cases is identical. The differences in colour are due to variations in the amount of pigment deposited. This explanation in the opinion of some anthropologists is not correct. They hold that the differences in colour are due to the direct effects of heat. Some connect pigmentation of the skin with humidity or both combined. But this also is open to objection. The best working hypothesis, says Ripley, is the combined influences of a great number of factors of environment working through physiological processes none of which can be isolated from the others. It is interesting to note the following explanation, given by E. P. Armitage, of the variations of colour in various races. He says, "where salt or salt-containing food is a luxury, the upper or wealthier classes will be fairer than the lower classes. It is also said that

the sun darkens the skin although there be no uncommon redundancy of the bile. It is also a fact that redundancy of the bile darkens the skin even in the absence of common exposure to the sun, where both causes co-operate the effect is much greater and the colour much deeper". The Kadars in common with other wild tribes have only of late begun to use salt in their food ; whether the variation of colour from dark to dark brown and pale white is due to this it is not possible to say.

Stature :—The Kadars are a dwarfish tribe, and their average height is 175 cms. The maximum and minimum heights are 164 cms. and 156 cms. respectively. In the opinion of the best anthropologists, their low stature depends upon environment, natural or artificial selection and habits of life. "Stature", say Keane, "like the eyes, is more uniform among the lower than among the higher races, where it is affected by pursuits, town or country life, agricultural or industrial occupations". But these short peoples inhabit inhospitable and isolated localities and their diminutive size is the effect of scanty food continued through generations. The Kadars mostly depend upon the produce of the jungle, small yams, carrion, roots, fruits, wild vegetables and grain—ragi or rice.

(3) Present social and economic condition

An account of their social and economic condition has already been given in my first volume on the *Cochin Tribes and Castes*. During the past fifteen years their frequent contact with the people of the plains and with Europeans in plantations has

deprived them of their simple habits and brought them to a modified condition of life, morality and even language. Their family and tribal organisations are slowly disappearing. They very much indulge in drinking and in other vices. Both men and women get into a fashion for costly dress. They attend the village festivals of the plains and take a sort of pride in taking the names of the village deities in place of those of their vague gods of the hills and forests.

The primary occupation of the members of this community is the collection of forest produce in return for which they get from the contractors salt, chillies, tobacco, opium and money for the purchase of articles such as rice and cloth. They dig pits for trapping elephants, for which they get wages with which they indulge in opium and other intoxicants. Some are employed in timber-cutting, road-repairs and for various kinds of work in the tram line. Some are employed as forest guards, and brakesmen. Attempts are being made to educate their children and to establish a few Co-operative Societies for bettering their condition. To an anthropologist it is a matter for regret to see that these human fossils are rapidly disappearing !

Regarding the idea of self-help, a Kadar can give a lesson to the present day civilized man ; with a bill hook he performs wonders. He builds houses 'so neat and comfortable as to be positively luxurious'. He will bridge a stream with canes and branches. He will make a raft out of bamboo, a carving knife out of etah, a fishing line out of fibre, and fibre from dry wood. He will find food for a

visitor of the forest when he thinks that he must starve, and will show him the branch, which, if cut, will give him a drink. He will set traps for beasts and birds which are more effective than some of the most elaborate products of machinery. While a visitor of the forest, overtaken by night and afraid of wild beasts, feels helpless, a Kadar feels happy surrounded by plenty for his dinner. Familiarity with wild beasts, and comparative freedom from accident have bred contempt for them. The Kadar goes where an inhabitant of the plains fears to tread or conjures every creak of a bamboo into the approach of a charging tusker. Some are good trackers, and a few are good *shikaris*.*

* This paper was read at the tenth session of the Indian Science Congress at Lucknow, 1923.

III. THE MALSERS OF THE COCHIN FORESTS.

By RAO BAHADUR ANATHA KRISHNA IYER., B. A.

(1) Introduction.

The Malsers of the Cochin Forests are found in the Chittur Taluk of the State. They appear to be mostly immigrants from the forests of the Coimbatore hills. They live mostly either along the slopes near the foot of the hills or in the forests of the plains. In the Cochin State they are found in the latter localities. The Kadars who live on higher elevations consider them in point of social status to be inferior to themselves, both on account of their habitat, and of their eating the carrion of the cow and the bison. There are two grades among them, namely those that live on the hills, and those who inhabit the plains. Formerly they used to commit dacoities, waylay travellers whenever opportunities presented themselves, but now they serve and mostly live under landlords who give them lands in forest tracts either rent-free or on nominal rent, in return for which they work in the fields, and also do services to them in watching the forests, and sometimes in the elephant-catching operations. They are naturally a lazy lot, receive wages in advance, and spend a good portion thereof in drink at once.

Forty men were measured by me and the results are given below.

(2) Physical characters.

About twenty of the Malsers who appeared before me were strong and stout and others were

of the medium type. There were a few sickly members who had just recovered from Malaria. The women who were there at the time appeared to be fairly strong and healthy.

Skin colour :—The Malsers are uniformly black with the exception of a few who are dark brown. Seldom is even one seen possessing finer colour of the higher castes. There is, as in the case of the Kadars, no difference in colour between the parts exposed and those unexposed. Generally they are more than half naked.

Hair colour :—The colour of the hair on the head of both men and women is black. Some allow the hair to run wild and do not smoothen it with cocoanut oil. It is difficult in the case of many to judge whether it is curly or wavy. A few have wavy hair. It is not abundant on the face. Some wear moustaches. Growth of hair on the body is almost nil. Both men and women tie the hair into a knot behind.

Shape of the head :—Both from appearance as well as from measurements, the Malsers are dolicocephalic or long-headed, and the average cephalic index is 73·3, the maximum and the minimum being 80·7 and 66 respectively.

Eyes :—The iris in the case of Malsers, both men and women, is black with shades of brown.

Nose :—The shape of the nose of both men and women is short, broad and straight. The average nasal index is 86·6, the maximum and the minimum being 108 and 72 respectively. Chins are narrow and the lips are of the medium type. The lips are not everted. The ears are small and well-devel-

These people do not chip their teeth like the Kadars.

Stature :—The average height of the Malsers is 160·5, the maximum and the minimum heights being 172 and 150 respectively.

Mutilations and deformity :— Like the Kadar women the Malser women dilate their ear-lobes for the insertion of wooden discs. They also bore the septum of the nose for the insertion of a nose-screw. They also tatoo their hands with the figure of a bird or flower. The chipping of the teeth so common among the Kadars is entirely absent among them.

The wild tribes of the forest are mere creatures of their environment. The Malsers of the forest are no longer tree-climbers for the gathering of honey and bill products. They clear forests and cultivate lands in their vicinity giving a portion of the produce to their landlords, and taking the rest for themselves. They are experts in timber-cutting in the forests. They are somewhat better-looking than the Kadars, and their women look like the low-caste Sudra women of the plains. Both men and women are ill-clad and ill-fed owing to their indigent circumstances. Their food consists of wild yams which they dig for when they have nothing to give to the trader for rice. They are good at game-tracking and very handy with their axes, with the help of which they will construct a house in a few hours.*

* This paper was read at the tenth session of the Indian Science Congress at Lucknow, 1923.

IV. ON THE CULT OF THE GODLINGS OF DISEASE IN EASTERN BENGAL.

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The peasantry—the illiterate village-folk—of the country side in Bengal have very little to do with Brahmā, Vishnu, and Siva—the three superior deities of the Hindu official pantheon, and with their kindred and setellites. These *Devas* or ‘high gods’ are much adored and prayed-to by the rich and literate members of the village-community. But they are little more than names to the simple and illiterate village-folk of the country-side in Bengal. These latter pay their devoirs to the *Grāma-Devatās* or the village-godlings who are nothing more than the personifications and the deifications of natural phenomena and objects such as the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, Rivers, Waters and the like; of the disease-spirit; the sainted dead; and the evil and malicious dead—a “mob of divinities” as Dr. W. Crooke has very aptly designated them.

These personifications and deifications have already been absorbed into orthodox Hinduism or Brāhmanism and received brevet rank as members of the Hindu official pantheon; while others are in course of promotion towards their installation in the same high status.

In this paper, I shall deal with the cults of a few of the godlings of disease to whom

folk of Eastern Bengal pay their worship. These godlings of disease are nothing more than deifications or personifications of the spirit of disease and ailments, and of the evil and maliciously-disposed dead.

The godlings and goddesslings of Eastern Bengal, who are to be dealt with in this paper, are four in number and bear the names of (1) *Ekāchurā*; (2) *Bara Kumāra*; (3) *Lālasā Bisvesvara*; and (4) *Khala Kumārī*.

(1) The Godling Ekāchurā.

The village-folk dwelling in the eastern parts of the district of Mymensingh, and in the northern parts of the district of Tippera in Eastern Bengal, pay their worship to the disease-godling *Ekāchurā*. They do *pūjā* and pray to this deity whenever their children fall seriously ill and also for the purpose of obtaining the boon that the sons and daughters of those women whose children die shortly after birth may remain alive to a long age. As soon as a vow is made to pay worship to this deity, an iron ring is placed upon, or, failing that, a piece of thread is tied round the infant's leg. This ring or thread is called "*Ekāchurā's* fetter".

This godling is worshipped sometimes, on the occasion of the child's first rice-eating ceremony; sometimes, at the performance of the ceremony for investing him with the sacred thread; and sometimes on the occasion of his marriage.

After the *pūjā* has been done, the fetter round the child's leg is taken off. If the fetter should have been destroyed or lost by reason of some accident, a new fetter is placed round the child's leg

at the time of the performance of the *pūjā* of this godling.

Goats are usually sacrificed to this godling. But, in some places, buffaloes are slaughtered by way of sacrifice.

Womenfolk occasionally perform a *vrata* or ceremonial worship which goes by the name of 'Ekachurār vrata' or 'the ceremonial worship of Ekachurā'.

There is considerable difference of opinion regarding the origin of the name of this godling. According to some authorities, this deity is known as *Ekachaura Bhairava*. While others call him *Ekachura Bhairava*. Lastly, according to a third class of authorities, this deity's name is *Ekachūra Siva*.

The prayer-formulæ recited at the worship of this disease-godling are as follows:—

1. Nilajīmūtasamkāsam ekachauram trilochanam
2. Dvibhujam satruhantāram nānālamkārabhūshitam.

1. (I offer my prayers to the deity) Ekachaura whose complexion is like that of a dark (*lit.*, blue) cloud, who is possessed of three eyes,

2. Who is possessed of two hands, who kills his enemies, (and) who is adorned with various kinds of ornaments.

The second version of the aforementioned formula runs thus:—

1. Nīla jīmūtasankāsam ekachauram trilochanam.
2. Gadākhargadharam devam sūryya-kotisamprabham.

3. Vindhyastham vindhyani layam-bhairavam bhairavī priyam.

Om ekachaura bhairava chāgachchetyāhvāhya.
Hum kraum ekachaura bhairavāya namah.

or

1. (I offer my prayers to) the deity Ekachaura Bhairava whose complexion is like that of a dark (*lit.*, blue) cloud, who is possessed of three eyes,

2. Who holds (in his hands) a club and a sword, who is resplendent like one *crore* of suns,

3. Who lives in the Vindhya mountains, whose home is in the Vindhya mountains, (and) who is beloved by Bhairavī.

Om. I invoke (the deity) Ekachaura Bhairava by uttering the words "Come here" *Hūm kraum*. I make obeisance to (the deity) Ekachaura Bhairava.

I am inclined to think that this godling is a personification of the spirit of diseases and ailments, which was worshipped by the non-Aryan aborigines, that his worship is being gradually absorbed into orthodox Hinduism, and that the personified disease-spirit is in course of promotion to a higher status. The fact is that the exponents of the orthodox faith being desirous of concealing the origin of this cult among the detested non-Aryans, are lending to it a touch of the colour of Brāhmanism by tacking the names *Bhairava* and *Siva* to this disease-spirit's aboriginal epithet *Ekāchurā*.

Another interesting feature of the cult of the godling *Ekāchurā* is the placing of the iron ring upon, or the tying of the thread round, the infant's leg.

The ideas underlying the practice of placing the iron ring upon the infant's leg are the following :—

Firstly, the belief in the efficacy of iron as a fetish or charm to scare away evil spirits such as the spirits of disease.

Secondly, the belief in the supernatural power of the blacksmith.

Thirdly, the belief in the efficacy of the magic circle as a scarer of evil spirits.

As instances of the first and second beliefs, we may mention that, in the Mirzapur district of the United Province of Agra and Oudh, the *Baiga* or the village-exorciser uses the *gurda* or the sacred chain with which he thrashes patients suffering from epilepsy, hysteria and similar diseases which, from their mysterious nature, are believed by the ignorant village-folk to be caused by demoniacal possession.¹

Then again, it is popularly believed throughout India that women, just after their delivery, are particularly liable to be attacked by evil spirits. In order to scare away these demons or evil spirits, an iron implement such as a sword, a knife, a scythe and the like is always kept upon the bed of the young mother and her baby. As, for instance, among the Vadvals of Thana (in the Bombay Presidency), it is believed that, on the fifth night after the delivery of a woman, the birth-spirit Sathi comes in the guise of a cat, a dog or a hen and eats the heart or skull of the new-born child. In order to scare away this malignant spirit, the

¹ *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, By W. Crooke, B. A. Allahabad, 1894. Page 100.

woman's kinsfolk encircle her bed with the strands of a particular kind of creeper which is supposed to have anti-demoniac property, and place an iron knife or scythe upon her cot. At the same time, an iron bickern is kept at the door of the lying-in-room; and a watch is kept for the whole night.²

This belief is very similar to the European one in fairy-changelings and the malevolent influences to which the European mother and her child are exposed.

Lastly, as instances of the third belief, we may state that, throughout India, iron in the shape of rings, wristlets and leglets (compare with "Ekāchurā's fetter" mentioned *supra*) is frequently worn with a view to scare away malignant spirits such as the spirits of disease and of death. Just in the same way, in Ireland, an iron ring worn on the fourth finger is believed to cure the wearer of rheumatism.³

As an additional example of the use of the iron leglet for this purpose, we may mention that, in Western and Lower Bengal, women, who become *marāñche*, that is to say, whose children die shortly after birth, borrow or purchase from a thief an iron fetter or leglet (called *chorer beri*: Compare this with "Ekāchurā's fetter"), and place the same on the infant's right leg (in the case of a male child) and on the left leg (in the case of a female child). This is believed to make the infant live up to a long age.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 192.

As instances of the use of iron wristlets for the aforementioned purpose, we may mention that, in Western and Lower Bengal, lunatics and insane persons are made to wear on their right hand (in the case of a male) and on their left hand (in the case of a female) an iron wristlet which is called the *Pāglā Kālir bālā* or "the wristlet which has been consecrated to the goddess Kālī who presides over lunatics." This is another instance of the use of iron as a curative for nervous and mental ailments, such as epilepsy, hysteria and insanity, which are believed by the ignorant folk of the country side to be caused by demoniac possession.

Among the Birhors—an aboriginal people living on the Chota Nagpur plateau—old iron implements are exposed in the open during an eclipse and then taken to a blacksmith (this is another instance of the supposed supernatural power of this craftsman) for being made by him into wristlets. Children are made to wear these wristlets in order that they may be immune from the evil eye and the attacks of malevolent spirits and demons. It is also believed by them that the wearers thereof have good dreams and that ghosts and spooks cannot appear to them in their dreams.⁴

The practice of tying the thread round the child's leg is based upon the following ideas:—

(1) The belief in the efficacy of thread as an amulet or talisman to ward off diseases.

(2) The belief in the efficacy of the magic circle as a scarer of evil spirits.

⁴ *Man in India* for March and June 1922, p. 111.

As regards the first belief, I have already shewn elsewhere that many races of people, both civilized and uncivilized, believe in the efficacy of the coloured and uncoloured string or ligature as a talisman for warding off the attacks of diseases. These bands of string or ligatures are tied either on the wrist, or above the elbow-joint, or round the neck. [In the case of "Ekāchurā's fetter", it is tied round the leg]. Among these peoples are included the Chinese, the Burmans, the Hindus of the districts of Hughli and Murshidabad in Lower Bengal, the Afghans, and the lower classes of the English people living in the county of Norfolk and in some other parts of England.⁵

The second of the foregoing beliefs has found expression in the fact that, when the thread or string is tied round the wrist, arm, neck or leg, it assumes the form of a circlet and thus acquires the magical property for keeping off the spirits of disease and of death.

(II) The Godling Bara Kumāra.

This godling is a constant attendant of the deity Ekāchurā. Wherever and whenever Ekachura is worshipped, Bara Kumara must also be worshipped. On such auspicious ceremonial occasions as the performance of the first-rice-eating ceremony, marriage, etc., Bara Kumara is almost always worshipped.

This godling is worshipped by presenting to

⁵ Vide my article on "North Indian Incantations for Charming Ligatures for Snake-bite" in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. X, pp. 593—595.

him 16 kinds of offerings (*śoḍaśopachāra*).
Goats and other beasts are also sacrificed to him.

The prayer-formula recited at the worship of this godling is known as the *Bara Mantra* and runs thus :—

1. Om Barakumara dvibhujam satruhanantaram
madyaghatakāpalakam.

2. Byaghracharmambaram nanalankarabhushita-
tam.

1. (I am offering prayers to the deity) Bara Kumara who is possessed of two hands, who kills (his) enemies, (and) whose head (*lit.*, forehead) is like a wine-pot,

2. Who is clad in a tiger's skin (and) who is adorned with various kinds of ornaments.

The godlings Ashtabhairava are also worshipped as Bara Kumara's attendant deities (*angadevatā*).

There is considerable difference of opinion regarding the origin of the name of the godling Bara Kumara.

Some authorities are of opinion that this godling's name is *Bara Kumāra* or the "Eldest Unmarried Young Man". As the word *bara* is synonymous with the Sanskrit word *br̥hat*, some priests worship this godling by uttering the formula "*Brihat kumārāya namaḥ*" (or "I make obeisance to Brihat kumara"); some by reciting the formula "*Briḍḍha kumārāya namaḥ*" (or "I make obeisance to Briḍḍhakumara") While a third class of priests perform the *pūjā* by uttering :

kumārāya namaḥ

Barakum

Some scholars think that this godling's correct name is "*Baradātā Kumāra*" or "the Unmarried Young Man who gives boons".

I think that the godling Bara Kumara is also a deification of the spirit of disease which was worshipped by the non-Aryan aborigines and that this worship is being gradually adopted into Brahmanism. It is likely that, for the purpose of lending this cult the appearance of having had a Pauranik origin, the name of the Hindu War-god *Kumāra* or *Kārttika* with the distinguishing epithet *bara* prefixed thereto, has been applied to this godling by the exponents of orthodox Brahmanism.

(III) The Godling *Lalasa Bisvesvara*.

This godling is worshipped at many places in the districts of Mymensingh and Tippera in Eastern Bengal. The people of those parts, in their household parlance, call this cult "the Worship of Takara Takari". This godling is worshipped for the purpose of obtaining the boon that the sons and daughters of those women whose children die shortly after birth or are still-born, may live up to a long age.

The common folk believe that this godling *Tākarā Tākari* steal the aforementioned children and, assuming the forms of these stolen children, take the latter's places. The godling, in the guise of the stolen child, feigns to be dead and, after he has been buried in the earth, rises from the grave and goes away.

It is stated that the godling *Lālasā Bisvesvara* belongs to the same group as the deity *Arddhanārīśvara*, for, according to the undermentioned *dhyāna*,

the former is composed of half-man and half-woman and should, therefore, be worshipped together.

The aforementioned *dhyāna* or formula, which is mumbled while the priest contemplates the image of this godling, runs as follows :—

1. Meghangīm jīrnabasanam padmahastam bhujad-vayam,
2. Brikshasthitam balakroram muktakesīm bhayanakam,
3. Dandahastam dhritakatīm banamalabibhūshitam ;
4. Jatabharasamajuktam bhasmabarnam bhujad-vayam,
5. Dandapasasamajuktam Kesapingalalochanam.
6. Katakshasthanam statam dantaushtham kam-pitam sada,
7. Baladam bhaktasantam devidevamaham bhaje.

or

1. *and latter half of 7.*—I offer my *pūjā* to the deity half of whom is female and the other half male ; (whose feminine half) is dark-complexioned like a cloud ; who is dressed in tattered raiment ; who holds a lotus in one of her hands ; who is possessed of two hands ;

2. Who dwells in trees ; who has a child in her lap ; whose hair is dishevelled ; who is terrible in appearance ;

3. Who holds a mace in one of her hands ; whose hands are placed akimbo ; and who is adorned with garlands of forest flowers ;

4. (Whose male half) bears matted locks (on his head) ; who is ashy-complexioned ; who is possessed of two hands ;

5. Who holds (in his hands) a mace and a net ; whose eyes are grey like grey hair ;

6. Whose eyes are always frowning ; who is always gnashing (*lit.*, shaking) his teeth and lips ;

7. Who eats children ; (and) who is favourably disposed towards those who are devoted to him.

It is stated that the worship of this godling is prescribed in the Kubjika Tantra.

The prayer-formula recited at the worship of this godling is *Om Lālasā Bisvesvarāya namah* or "I make obeisance to the godling Lalasa Bisvesvara".

From a careful perusal of the description, given above, of this godling, I am inclined to opine that he is a deification of the spirit of diseases and ailments, or of the spirit of the evil and maliciously-disposed dead. For it is stated that he steals children and, assuming their guise, take their places. Then he feigns to be dead and, when he is buried in the earth, rises from his grave and vanishes. In line 7 of the aforementioned *dhyāna* also, it is stated that he eats children.

The name Takara Takarī, which is commonly applied to this godling, would appear to indicate that this cult is of non-Aryan origin, and that this deified spirit was prayed-to and propitiated by some non-Aryan aboriginal tribe. This cult has now been completely assimilated into orthodox Brahmanism ; and with a view to lay a veneer over his aboriginal origin, the orthodox Hindu name Lalasa Bisvesvara has been applied to him.

(IV) The Goddessling Khala Kumārī.

The goddessling Khala Kumārī is worshipped by the village-folk in the districts of Mymensingh,

Tippera and Sylhet where this cult is known as "the cult of Darai". As this goddessling is worshipped along with the goddess Manasa, womenfolk generally call it "the Cult of Darai Bishari".

People suffering from incurable diseases make vows to do *pūjā* to this deity in order that they might be cured of their ailments.

She is worshipped on the occasion of the performance of such ceremonies as that for the investiture of a child with the sacred thread, and of marriage.

On the first day of the worship of this goddessling, the *Adhibāsa* ceremony has to be performed with due rites. On the next day, the regular *pūjā* has to be performed.

As accompaniment to the worship of this goddessling, the undermentioned virgins (or *Kumārīs*) have also to be adored and prayed-to:—

- (1) Ugra Kumārī.
- (2) Kshemankarī.
- (3) Jalabasīnī.
- (4) Haraputrika.
- (5) Ugrarapa.
- (6) Gangaputrika.
- (7) Nandīputrikī.
- (8) A virgin whose name has not been given.

Thereafter *pūjā* has to be done to the undermentioned deities also:—

- (1) Yamuna.
- (2) Brahmanī.
- (3) Vishnumaya.
- (4) Padma.
- (5) Chhaya.
- (6) Maya.

- (7) Surabakya.
- (8) Vasudeva.
- (9) The Ten Incarnations of Vishnu.
- (10) Dharmma.
- (11) Vairagya.
- (12) A vairagya.
- (13) Anaisvaryya.
- (14) Sesha.
- (15) The Disk of the Sun (Arkkamandala).
- (16) Fire (Vahnimandala).
- (17) The Disk of the Moon (Somamandala).
- (18) Soul (Atma).
- (19) The Universal Soul (Paramatma).
- (20) Jnanatma.
- (21) Rajah.
- (22) Tamah.
- (23) The Internal Soul (Antaratma).

After the worship of the goddessling Khala Kumārī has been finished, *pūjā* has also to be offered to the goddessling Chhaya and Maya in the evening near some sheet of water.

The principal priest who officiates at the worship of the goddessling Khala Kumārī is a Gurama or hermaphrodite. In lieu of the genuine hermaphrodite, men wear women's clothing, put on shell-bracelets on their wrists, paint spots of vermillion on their foreheads, and live unmarried all their lives.

The songs sung by the hermaphrodite priestess Gurama are regarded as the principal accompaniment of the worship of the goddessling Khala Kumārī. But, at the present day, on account of the paucity of the Guramas, and of the prevalence of polished tastes among the people, this goddessling

is worshipped at many places without enlisting the services of the Guramas. The songs which are sung by the hermaphrodite priestess Gurama are stated to be very obscene. The singing of these songs is known as "the Chaitala of the Gurama." [It has been conjectured that the name "*Chaitala*" has been most likely applied to these songs on account of the fact that the Indian Cupid is worshipped in the month of Chaitra to the accompaniment of the singing of obscene songs].

The hermaphrodite priestess also acts as an oracle. With her hair deshevelled, her tongue protruding from her mouth, and her eyes frowning, the Gurama wags her head to and fro. When the bystanders ask her questions about their future happiness and misery, she gives replies to them.

This consultation of the hermaphrodite priestess in her capacity as an oracle is known as "*the Guramāra Bānakarā*". As the people believe that the Gurama, when acting as an oracle, is possessed by the goddessling Khala Kumārī, the term "*Bānakarā*" may be a corruption of the words "*Bhānakarā*" or the act of pretending (to play the part of the goddessling Khala Kumārī).

It would appear from the foregoing account that the hermaphrodite priestess, like the *shamans* of Central Asia, combines in herself the functions of the priest and the sooth-sayer. She not only conducts the worship of the goddessling Khala Kumārī but also predicts coming events.

The wagging of her head to and fro is to symbolize the "dance" of the person.

deity moves according to some rude rhythmic measure and "announces the pleasure of the deity". This rude rhythmic dance is prevalent all over the world.

I have not been able to come across any other instance of the hermaphrodite's acting as a priestess in any other cult or in the religion of any other people. [This point requires further research],

I am of opinion that the goddessling Khala Kumārī is a deification of some disease-spirit which was adored and prayed-to by the non-Aryan aborigines. To my mind, this appears to be borne out by the under-noted evidence :—

(1) People generally call this godling by the name of *Dasāi* or *Darāi Bisharī*, the former of which appears to have been the aboriginal name of the particular disease-spirit.

(2) No image appears to be made of this goddessling.

(3) No temple or shrine appears to be constructed and set apart for the installation of this goddessling.

(4) No Brahmana officiates as a priest at the worship of this goddessling.

(5) Hermaphrodites or men who dress and adorn themselves as women and have taken a vow to lead a life of celibacy act as priestesses at her worship.

The deified disease-spirit Darai has been absorbed into orthodox Brahmanism and dubbed with the Brahmanical name of Khala Kumārī in order to give her cult the semblance of having had a Pauranic origin.

The worships of the 8 virgins or *Kumārīs* and of the 23 deities who are adored and prayed-to along

with the goddessling Khala Kumārī appears to be subsequent accretions which have been tacked on to the primitive aboriginal cult by the exponents of orthodox Hinduism in order to give it a veneer of the latter faith.⁶

From what I have stated above, it would appear that the three godlings Ekachura, Bara Kumārī, and Lalasa Bisvesvara, and the goddessling Khala Kumārī appear to have been personifications of the disease-spirit or of the spirit of death which were most likely adored and prayed-to by the non-Aryan aborigines of Eastern Bengal and which have been, or are in course of being, absorbed into orthodox Hinduism.

The foregoing theory, which I am broaching tentatively, receives additional support from the evidence afforded by mediæval Bengali literature. In Ramai Pandit's *Sūnya Purāṇa*, the names of about 50 godlings, goddesslings, sages and ascetics are mentioned, all of whom, though not of Vedic origin, are yet recognised in Pauranik Hinduism.

A few of these godlings bear very curious names as, for instance, Dumvara Sai. This godling appears to be the same as Damara Sañi who is mentioned in the work entitled *Dharmma pūjā Vidhāna*. In this latter work, several other godlings bearing the names of jharajhari, Parihara, Lauhajangha, Pandasura and so forth are mentioned, all of

⁶ For an account of the worship of the three godlings Ekachura, Bara Kumārī, and Lalasa Bisvesvara, and of the goddessling Khala Kumārī, I am indebted to an article (in Bengali) entitled *Prādesika Devatattva* which appeared in the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabāsi* (published from Calcutta) for Ashārha 1329 B. S. (June-July 1922 A. D.) Pp. 356—368.

whom appear to have been adored and prayed-to as deities presiding over the field and agricultural operations (*Kshetrāpālā*).

Of the foregoing deities, Pandasura is the godling of the sugarcane-field and is prayed to and invoked with the following invocation :—

Pahi mam ikshuyantraih tvam, guravridhipradayine, ikshubati-nibasine."

"O thou, who dost increase the quantity of molasses and dost dwell in the sugarcane-field, maintain me by supplying me with an abundant supply of the sugarcane-juice (*lit.*, by means of the sugarcane press)."

From their uncouth names, we are inclined to think that these village-godlings are of non-Aryan origin, and that Brahmanism has adopted them as members of its own pantheon, after purifying and dubbing them with Hindu names, as it is the characteristic of the exponents of the latter faith to do. In this way, the village-godling Bhairō has become Bhairava, and the village-deity Shiu has been transformed into the full-fledged Mahadeva.

Then again, some of the godlings of the non-Aryan aborigines have been absorbed into the cult of Dharmma Thakura whom recent researches have proved to be a corrupt proto-type of Lord Buddha. The exponents of this faith have dubbed them with names which signify that they are different impersonations of the deity Dharmma Thakura. This will be evident from the fact that, in Manik Ganguli's *Dharmma Mangala*, we come across the names of eighty village-deities who preside over as many

places. In addition to the above, we find a further list of village-godlings in Sahadeva Chakravartti's *Dharmma Mangala* also.

Included among the village-godlings mentioned in Manik Ganguli's *Dharmma Mangala*, are several *Dharmma Rāja Thākuras*. These village-deities appear to have been, at one time, godlings of the non-Aryan aborigines, as will appear from the fact that several of them still bear the uncouth names of Bankura Raya, Yatrasiddhi, Kalu Ray (of village Jara) and so forth. But the Dharmma-Pandits or the priests of the Dharmma cult have absorbed them into their own faith, after dubbing them with the name of Dharmmaraja.

In this connection, it will not be out of place to mention here that what has been called the "Pyramid-worship" of the Bengali womenfolk also appears to have been borrowed from the non-Aryan aborigines. Two forms of this cult have hitherto been described. In the first form, the godlings are named Thua and are five in number. They are represented by five conically-shaped clods of clay which are more like miniature pyramids than anything else. The fact that they are not represented by anthropomorphic figures shows that these deities are not recognised either in the Vedas or in the Puranas, nor is their worship prescribed in the Shāstras. Then again, the non-Aryan origin of this cult is indicated by the language of the hymns addressed to them, which are not composed in Sanskrit but are couched in an old Bengali dialect akin to Prākṛit.

In the second form of this cult, the godli-- is

called Laul and represented by a conically-shaped clod of clay. Two flower-decorated sticks are stuck into this clod, one on each side of it, to represent the deity's two arms. But these floral decorations have been conjectured by scholars to be later innovations. The lack of this godling's anthropomorphic shape indicates that this worship has been, very likely, borrowed from some non-Aryan people.⁷ *

⁷ *The Folk-Literature of Bengal*, By Dinesh Chandra Sen, B. A.
Published by the University of Calcutta. 1920 Pp. 246—247.

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V. THE ADI-DRAVIDAS OF MADRAS.

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The term Adi Dravida has been applied in a restricted sense to the Pariahs of Madras, though the other tribes of the pre-Tamilian days like the Kurumbars and Irulars of the Nilgris, the Kadars of the Nelliamputties, the Veddas of Madura, the Shanars of Tinnevely, the Pallars and Chuklers, may also be designated by that name. The Adi-Dravidas mentioned in this paper comprise the following tribes :—

The Pariahs,
The Malas,
The Madigas,
The Tiyans, and
The Holeyars.

The Adi-Dravidas are not outcastes though they are treated as untouchables by the other Dravidians and the Aryans. Now, much of that untouchability has vanished in East Madras, owing to the levelling influences brought into play by the exodus to cities and by the problems of town life.

The first historic mention of the Pariahs is made in the Capardagiri inscription of Asoka which is engraved also on the rocks at Girnar in Kathiawar and Dhoulī in Cuttack. It runs,—“In all the subjugated territories of King Priyadasi and also in the bordering countries as such Choda Palaya or Paraya, Satyaputra, Keralaputra, etc.”. The Pariahs of the Tamil land, especially those of Tondai

(Chengleput, North Arcot, and South Arcot districts) were once the most important race. They were the real proprietors of the soil. Even now the place of honour is reserved to them on certain important occasions—perhaps a relic of their ancient importance. The head Vettiya Pariah of Trivalur in Tanjore carries the *chowri* or fan of the god Tyagarajan (Siva). It is a Pariah who ties the *tali* round the neck of the goddess Yegathal (Sole Mother) at an important festival in Madras. The Brahmans in Vizagapatam go through a ceremony of asking the consent of Malas (Pariahs) to their marriage. The Holey Pariahs have the right of entering Meilkote temple, a stronghold of Vaishnavite Brahmanism, on three days in the year, specially set apart for them. The famous poets, Tiruvalluvar, the author of *Tirukkural*, and Kapilar, the author of *Kapilar Ahaval*, and the poetess Avvayar, belong to the Adi-Dravida community.

The Adi-Dravidas are not the lowest in the social scale. There are many others who occupy a lower status. They comprise more than a ninth of the population. There are according to the recent Census, 5,000,000 of Adi Dravidas out of a total population of 43 millions. They can lay claim to a purity of descent from the ancient Dravidas which purity of blood many civilized races cannot boast of. They have their own traditions, their own peculiar usages, their own castes and sub-divisions, just as the other communities.

Their Gurus or spiritual pastors are called Valluvars, Thathans, Pandarams, and Sanjeevis. They worship the female deities, Mariathal, Kali, Ponni-

amma, etc. They are mostly spirit-worshippers, though nominally worshippers of Siva. Mr. Haraprasad Shastri's statement that the depressed classes were once Buddhists is well worth an examination at this stage of our enquiry. The temples of the female deities mentioned above contain many Buddha images and other Buddhist relics. Many Adi-Dravidas worship the Buddha images, calling them *Jatamunis*, probably referring to the Jwala or flame represented by a crown in Buddha's head. Demon worship, devil dances, gorgeous processions of images, and riotous festivals were in vogue in the latter days of Buddhism in Southern India. The worship of the female deities and demons by the Adi-Dravidas are identical with the Buddhistic observances of those days. Tradition and local history point out that the images are the same and that they were once worshipped by the Buddhists of later days.

There are a number of sub-divisions in their race, but 27 chief divisions may be noted among the southern Pariahs. They are :—

1. Aliya Pariah, so-called because they address their father by calling him Alei and their mother by calling her Ala.

2. Ayya Ammay Pariah, for similar reasons as above, for calling their parents Ayya and Amma.

3. Ambu Pariah. They use bows and arrow and are hunters by profession.

4. Aripukara Pariah. They wash out sand by sifting to find out particles of gold in it.

5. Arathu Kattatha Pariah. The name
not remain widows.

6. Chunk Pariah. They blow conches and do various kinds of work at ceremonies.

7. Koliya Pariah, who are weavers by profession.

8. Coody Pariahs, who are barbers by profession.

9. Cootagacaur Pariahs who serve as grooms and attend to stables.

10. Doorchauly or Tavalay Tinnun Pariah, who eat frogs, jackals etc.

11. Mooraja Pariah, who beat a kind of tomtom.

12. Oo Pariah, who serve as scavengers.

13. Ottagacaur Pariah, who spin cotton.

14. Perum or Great Pariah, a better sort of Pariahs, who are engaged as gentlemen's servants.

15. Pora Pariah, who make baskets and mats of bamboo, rushes, osiers, etc.

16. Sulagu-Kathey Pariah, who live chiefly by winnowing paddy and other kinds of grain.

17. Shozia Pariah, who are hawkers of cheap wares.

18. Tamil Pariahs. These are merchants and men of some status. There are three kinds of Tamil Pariahs:—The Tangalans, the Vellas, and the Kongus. The Tangalans are traders and cultivators, who wear the sacred thread at weddings and funerals. Next to them are the Valluvans; these are the most highly esteemed of the Pariahs. The Vellais and the Kongus eat cows that have died a natural death, whereas the Tangalans do not.

19. The Tautha Pariah. They are Vaishnavite mendicants subsisting on the charity of others.

20. The Tiyan of Malabar are toddy drawers.

21. Tondans or slaves were generally engaged as cultivators. But some are petty traders, artisans, domestic servants, grooms, and the like.

22. Toty is the village messenger and servant.

23. Vaduga or Telugu Pariah. These are palanquin-bearers.

24. Valai Pariah, who catch birds by spreading nets.

25. Vettiars. These beat tomtoms and act as undertakers at funerals.

26. Valluvans. These are most respectable of the lot. They are the spiritual pastors for the whole community. Many of them are reputed astrologers who are consulted by many high caste people.

27. Yecauli Pariah are washerman.

The main occupation of the Adi-Dravidas is now cultivation of the soil. They are the field labourers. They are a most patient and industrious class, who are highly trustworthy. Many of them in the employ of Europeans and Anglicised Indians in towns are quick, intelligent and active. Some of them are weavers, and spinners of cotton, artisans, hawkers, traders, and merchants. Many of them have emigrated to Burma, the Malay states, Mauritius, South Africa, British Gambia, Mesopotamia and many other foreign countries.

The Adi-Dravidas live in a separate quarter called a Parcheri, which is generally at a distance from the quarters of the caste residents in the villages. They have their own barbers, musicians, washermen, and their own spiritual *gurus*, the Valluvars. In this connection it may be of some interest to note that the Brahman officiates as a priest for the other non-Brahman communities, whereas the Adi-Dravida non-Brahman has a priest of his own community. A majority of them bury

their dead. Their marriages are generally accompanied by dances and songs when the *tali* or the cord is tied round the bride's neck. Except the Arathu Kattatha Pariah all others remarry their widows. Their moral code is very strict and the chastity of their women is in no way inferior to that of the other communities.*

* This paper was read at the tenth session of the Indian Science Congress at Lucknow, 1923.

VI. CASTE IMPURITY IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B. A.

Impure Castes.

Audhelia
Balahi
Basor
Bedar
Bhangri
Chamar
Chuhre
Daphali
Dhobi
Dholi
Dohor
Dom
Ganda
Ghasia
Kaikadi
Khangar
Katia
Kori
Kuchbandhia
Kumhar
Lalbegi
Madgi
Mehara
Mala
Mang
Mangan
Mehtar
Nagarchi
Panka
Paraiyan
Pardhan
Pasi
Solaha
Tanti.

On the margin are noted the names of castes who are considered impure in the Central Provinces.

Their touch is supposed to defile a person of a higher caste, but the pollution is taken off by a mere bath or sprinkling of water on the head of the person polluted. It will be seen that the castes in the list are generally

weavers, leather-workers, potters, Impure bamboo workers, washermen and Castes. scavengers. Most of these occupations are despised ones, but Mr.

Russell in his Census Report of 1901 has given reasons to show that the occupations do not fully account for the impurity attached to the caste. Thus while leather-curing and scavenging may be unclean in themselves, he points out that there is nothing unclean about bamboo-work and weaving. After examining the subject from

all other points of view he comes to the conclusion that this was the means by which the Brahmans sought to preserve the higher race from degradation by inter-marriage with the black and despised tribes, whom the Aryans had met and subjugated on entering the country. It is, he adds, only the

feeling engendered by difference of race and difference of colour, the pride of blood and the fear of its pollution that could cause so violent an antipathy between man and man. In spite of the forcible arguments which Mr. Russell has put forward to support his theory there is still much to be said in favour of the lowness of the occupations which brings impurity to the castes which follow them. It is a well-known fact that the practisers of what appear to be clean occupations are merely off-shoots of the unclean workers ; for instance, the Basors or bamboo workers are really an off-shoot of the Dom or scavenging caste and the continuation of their close association with the Doms could not but make them an impure caste. Similarly the weavers are an off-shoot of the Chamar caste and their traditional connection survives in the phrase 'Chamar Kori' up to this day. While those

relations subsisted the Koris could not Chamar shake off their impurity by the fact of Kori. their having taken to cloth-weaving.

In the matter of social position of a caste, a good deal depends on the pretensions of the caste itself. A case in point is that of the Bedars. They are still regarded in Berar as equal to the Dheds but through the exertions of some of its educated members, the caste has almost acquired the status of a Kunbi. The advanced portion of the community disowns connection with what may be regarded as the Dhed Bedars, but in course of time if these abandon what is regarded as their conduct, they might claim the same advanced brethren have

achieved. In the list of impure castes, there is hardly any whose occupation is not unclean. Thus whatever may have been the original cause of differentiation, there can be no doubt that uncleanness of occupation had much to do with it. In higher castes where certain sections took up unclean work, they were looked down upon and ostracised though not actually reduced to the status of an impure caste. For instance, hemp-growing created a separate sub-caste of Kunbis called Santora Kunbis. The growing of the plant is not in itself unclean, it is the process of taking out fibre which is very dirty. The Kumhars have the title of Pande chiefly restricted to Brahmans and are not unclean, but those who began to rear pigs or use donkeys as pack-animals got degraded as Sungaria or Gadhere Kumhars and sank to the category of impure castes. In the northern Districts very great attention is not paid to the impurity caused by contact with these castes except in the case of sweepers, but in the South pollution is even caused by an impure person coming within a certain distance of the high-born. This is accentuated in the Madras Presidency, but these provinces are free from such deep prejudice. The Mahar boys may attend the same school as the Brahmans, though the former are not allowed to sit in the main hall but in the verandahs to prevent contact with high caste boys. In the Northern Districts Chamar boys are known to have sat on the same bench as the high caste quondam rulers of a territory. A somewhat curious example of impurity by contact is found among Koltas

are temporarily out-casted if a stick thrown by a Ganda or Ghasia on a mango tree accidentally falls on their body even after remaining on the tree for one or two days.

Many acts which are considered impure are abrogated for the sake of convenience. A Dhimar

is as unclean as a Sungaria Kumhar

Abrogation of as both rear and eat that unclean
Impurity. animal, the pig, and yet a Brahman

of the highest section would not

hesitate in taking water from his hand though he may refuse to take it from his brethren of the same caste, if in his eyes they are of a somewhat lower status than himself. It is merely convenience that gives sanction to this conduct. In Chhattisgarh

there was apparently a lack of Dhimars, so the caste that was sanctified was the Rawat and hence nobody drinks water from a Dhimar in Chhattisgarh.

Again nobody takes even water from the hands of a Bharia, but at the time of marriage many castes allow him to carry their *pakka* food from the bride's village to that of the bride-groom and vice versa.

This is an abrogation for want of a sufficient number of carriers of high castes. In Berar the Bamhanjais

may drink water from Kunbis and Malis at the time of marriages but not at other times. At grand

feasts even Brahmans may sit on roads and other places not cleaned with cow-dung, but

when individually fed they would insist on their *chouka* and would not let any body come close to it because that pollutes the food. The ground where

one has eaten is considered most polluted and requiring cleaning with cow dung, but on occasions referred to

above even a Brahman may eat where another has eaten, a mere sprinkling of water being held sufficient to clean the spot. Present day circumstances have created further abrogations, such, for instance, as in Railway journeys, cutchery attendance, etc. Water is now almost universally carried and drunk in railway trains. Ganges water may be brought by any caste and may be drunk by even Brahmans. It may be said that it has a sanctity of its own, but, at any rate, soda water has none. A Brahman who would not touch the water brought by a Musalman from a well does not find any difficulty in drinking it when it is ærated. It loses its character of pure water as it becomes soda water. Water may not be taken from a *mashak* or leather bag, but where water is scarce and cannot easily be brought without the use of a leather bag, the objection is withdrawn, as in Berar where most castes take it from the *mashak*. In railway carriages and bazaars, Mehtars rub shoulders with others, but nobody cares to bathe after a railway journey or a visit to a bazaar. In Berar, a Mahar is allowed to yoke and unyoke bullocks to or from a cart in which a person of a higher caste is actually sitting. In Jubbulpore they drive *tongas* which are engaged by everybody. Again, all are perfectly aware that a hawker of sweets and *puris* touches everybody high or low, and his basket is touched by any body in the throng through which he passes to and fro, and yet even high castes do not refrain from purchasing *pukka* food from him.

There are certain abrogations permitted on ceremonial occasions, at festivals or at sacred places. The Ponwars of Balaghat and Bhandara w

a god called Narayan Deo. The deity is kept in the house of a Mahar who brings it to the Ponwars when they wish to worship it. On this occasion the Mahars come and eat in a Ponwar's house along with guests of other castes invited, caste restrictions being relaxed. As soon as the cock crows in the morning the feast is stopped and caste distinctions are resumed. In the Bhairavi chakra of the Bam-margis not only are restrictions of food relaxed, but conjugal liberty between different castes during the period of ceremony is allowed. The Hindus who belong to the Shadawal sect throw off all eating and drinking restrictions and take food even from a Musalman for a number of days during which a goat-sacrifice is arranged for. The liberty begins from the time the Musalman Fakir ties a *nāda* or band to the wrist of the devotee of Shadawal and ends with the closing meal during which period the devotees wander about eating whatever is offered to them by any body regardless of caste. In this case, however, the other caste people require the devotee of Shadawal to undergo a purificatory ceremony accompanied with a feast to the caste before he is re-admitted to caste intercourse. On festivals when feasts are given to large bodies of persons such as at marriages, Hom, etc., all niceties of restrictions are done away with, as already referred to. At sacred places like Jaggannath or Puri, Bhuvaneshwar, etc., caste restrictions regarding food are totally abrogated as the food is taken after it is offered to the deity. It is called *prasad* which, if *pukka*, is free from pollution everywhere, but at Puri even *kuccha* food is sanctified.

Again, there is abrogation of impurity when a person changes his religion. A Mehtar or Chamar when he becomes a Christian or Musalman loses with his religion the impurity attached to him. An interesting case in point is that of Meghs, which occurred in the Punjab some time ago when a party of Megh coolies working on a railway line wanted to draw water from a well, for they were very thirsty. A high caste neighbour objected and raised a hue and cry. No other source of drinkable water was accessible in the neighbourhood and the coolies in indignation and despair hit upon a plan which made the water available to them in a couple of hours. Muhammadans could draw water from the well, but not the Meghs. The coolies therefore went to the nearest mosque, embraced Islam and returned with a party of Musalmans to the well and the high caste Hindu at once yielded. Some time ago 30,000 Meghs were reclaimed. They have gained in social status, which they could not do under ordinary circumstances without becoming a Muhammadan or Christian.

An examination of Mission work would show that the largest number of converts is from low castes, mostly untouchable. Although these classes have hardly any education and have no ambitions, being quite content with their lowly lot, they sometimes naturally feel a resentment against the treatment meted out to them by the self-styled high castes. This sometimes impels them to change their religion, though they generally look for some more substantial

gain than mere social position. Exemption from *begar*, for instance, has been a great inducement for Chamars of Chhattisgarh to change their religion. Nevertheless the Missions have improved the social position of many depressed castes and opened avenues for their prosperity. The educated classes have now begun to see the iniquity of the treatment meted out to the depressed classes and they have latterly been taking steps to ameliorate their condition. In some places very bold and strong steps have been taken ; for instance, in the Punjab, a number of polluted castes were admitted to commensality with the higher castes, more than a decade ago.

It may be noted that the depressed classes are not without self-respect. If the higher castes despise them they take reciprocal

Tit for tat. measures and taboo the over-bearing castes ; for instance, a Ghasia may never take salt from a Kayastha, a Mehtar may not eat at a Kayastha's, or a Darji's. The presence of Brahmans causes impurity to Bhunjias. If a Brahman were to touch a Bhunjia hut, he would set fire to it as polluted beyond reparation. A Betul Teli does not drink water from a Brahman though he may do it from a Gond. By the way, it may be mentioned that mixed castes entertain a very exaggerated notion of their purity. Taking the case of Bhunjias again, a caste of mixed origin formed from Binjhar and Gonds, these people will not even allow their own daughter to enter the ' e

after she is married and has become the wife of another. When she wishes to see her parents she comes with her husband, cooks her food separately and lives in a separate hut. The Bankas and Sonjharas who are similarly mixed would not eat with anybody of their own caste.

THE MUHUMMADANS OF PULICAT:

An ethnical study.

By S. T. MOSES, M. A., F. Z. S.

Researches of scholars like Drs. Vogel, Radhakumud Mukherji, Krishnasami Iyengar and Mr. Hornell have shown conclusively that Indians many centuries prior to the commencement of the Christian era displayed extraordinary maritime activities. Besides the reference in Dr. J. W. Mcrindle's "Ancient India" to a disastrous voyage of some Hindus who were blown by storm into Germany, and a Greek inscription, referred to at page 99 of Rawlinson's "Intercourse between India and the Western World from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome" (1916), as found in a ruined shrine on the banks of the Nile which was visited by Sophon an Indian mentioned in it, ancient literature in Tamil, Sanskrit, Pali and other languages is replete with references which prove that the Hindus of South India exhibited great enterprise overseas. Anthropologists are now almost agreed with Sir A. Keith in raising the Tamil race to a status equal to any one of the three other races viz., Mongolian, Aryan (Caucasian) and the Negroid. The Tamil race which is apparently akin to the Aryan is quite distinct ethnologically from it. Their colour is brown or gold. The race, the original home of which is our continent Tamilagam, reached its golden age many centuries before Christ. Ancient literature proves how this continent was subject to invasions from the other three races. 'Thirupura dakanam' is the Negroid

expedition and Suraparnan invasion that of the Mongolian. The Ramayana tells us of the Aryan invasion. To the ancient civilizations of Babylonia and Assyria, the Tamils contributed a large share as it was the Sumarians, a branch of the Tamils, who migrated there and laid the foundation. Egyptian civilisation also is indebted to the Tamil race, a branch of which migrated from the west coast to Egypt. The Tamils were great sea-traders and long before Solomon's days about 10th century B. C. and down through the period of the rise and fall of the Babylonian, Persian, Grecian and Roman empires to the 2nd century of the Christian era our continent occupied the glorious position of 'Queen of the Eastern seas'. The northern limit on the East Coast was Verkadu (Pulicat); *Vide* quotation by Nachinar Kinyar in his commentary to Tholkappiam, Porulathikara Sutram 113. Taking advantage of the constant intercourse between Tamilagam and the countries in Western Asia and Eastern Europe one of the Pandians sent an embassy to Rome during Caesar's time and another sent for Greek soldiers and employed them as his body-guard. The Tamils conquered lands as far as Tibet in the North, Siam and China in the east and Egypt in the west. Even America is said to have been conquered by the Tamil Emperor Athigaman. Several colonies were also founded in the East Indian Archipelago.

Though during the early centuries of the Christian era the Tamils monopolised the maritime trade, subsequently in the competition with Chinese and Arabian shipping, Indian shipping could not hold

its own particularly on the East Coast where the Kings down to the Rajah of Vijianagar neglected the navy and the mercantile marine. For many centuries after the Christian era, the trade between India and the Western countries was entirely in the hands of the Arabs. From the fourth till about the eighth century B. C. the Arabs did not make any permanent settlement on our coasts but were found in thousands among the floating population of important maritime centres. Subsequently however settlements were made and many hundreds of Mussalmans from Persia and Arabia were found permanently settled in all important seaports and trading centres. Many of these settlers had married Indian women and the indiscriminate application of the term 'Moor' by the early European visitors to all Mussalmans,—Persian, Arab or Indian, pure or mixed, has led to much confusion. Arab settlers were in the 11th and 12th centuries persecuted by the Moghuls—this was four centuries before the Portugese killed Arab trade by their barbarous cruelties and piratical acts—and many of them retired to their country leaving their children by the Indian women here. These descendants of the Arabian and Persian traders by Indian wives are found in various places in South India *e. g.* South Arcot, Tinnevely, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Canara and Malabar. Their names are various: Navayats, Labbais, Maricairs, Ravuthars and Moplahs *etc.*

The Navayats who are found mostly in Kundapur are the descendants of refugees who fled from the borders of the Persian gulf because of the cruelty of Ben Girzoff, Governor of Iran. The Moplahs

of Malabar are descendants of the old Arab settlers. Many Labbais are descendants of those who settled on the East Coast. The Tanjore Labbais are made up partly of descendants of Arab traders or refugees and partly of the progeny of the forced converts of Tippu Sultan. The Ravuthars of Trichinopoly are the descendants of the forced converts of Aurangzeb, Haidar Ali—the son of an Arab mother—and Tippu Sultan. It is very curious that many of them speak Telugu and their womenfolk are not *gosha* and have not yet discarded the Hindu dress as they are descendants of Kavarai women.

Labbai is said to be derived from 'Lebek' which means 'here I am', while others say it is a corruption of the term 'Arabi'. This word is absent from ancient Tamil literature and is not found in any of the old Tamil lexicons. The term used to designate these Mussalmans are 'Jonagar' which is in current use at Pulicat,—Jonagam being the name for Arabia; the Arabs were called Jonagar and their descendants too are styled the same. The Moplahs of Malabar are styled 'Jonaka Moplahs' to distinguish them from Christians who are called Narrene Mappillahs. Maricairs, the expert Mussalman seamen of the East Coast, form another class. The name is derived from 'Markab', a boat. They are usually considered to be higher than the Labbais in the social scale.

During these centuries of Arab trade, Pulicat, or as it was then known 'Paleakatta', the corruption of its Tamil name 'Palaverkadu' (old jungle of Babul trees) was a very important seaport. Early in the sixteenth century Barbosa described it as 'a

grand port which was frequented by an infinite number of Moorish vessels from all quarters. Today Pulicat, shorn of its glory as a port since the recession of the sea and eclipsed by Madras, retains the shadow of its importance by the possession of a light house, to warn sailors off the dangerous 'Pulicat shoals.' It is still a stronghold of Muhammadans who form nearly one-fifth of its population. Of the 889 Mussalmans (men and women) recorded in the latest Census Reports, about 83 families consisting of nearly 500 souls seem to be 'pure Arabs' like the descendants of Arabs found in Trichendur, Tinnevely district. They are very exclusive and do not seek marriage alliances with other Muhammadans but marry only among themselves. They take a great pride in recounting their pedigree which is in all cases not a little confused ! They are good-looking with a light complexion. They are tall with fairly developed and long limbs. The cast of countenance is typically Jewish and reminds one irresistably of Bible paintings. The head is singularly and strikingly small. The eyes in many cases appear to be slightly oblique and to be wanting in expression. The nose is aquiline like that of the Jews and the chin very small. The face is long with a beard which is cropped into medium length and is in most cases decidedly spare. The ears appear divergent in a ventral view. The other Muhammadans present in Pulicat are dark-brown and these may perhaps be the descendants of slaves of the original Arab settlers but more probably are descendants of local converts and Indian Mussalman emigrants from

neighbouring parts. It is the fair Mussalmans of Pulicat who form the subject of this study.

Measurements were taken of the cranium and nose of 100 Muhammadans of Pulicat and their cranial and nasal indices worked out

The cranial indices are shown in the following table:—

		Index.	No. of subjects.	Total.
(Longheads)	Dolichocephalic.	71.6	3	16 subjects.
		72.2	2	
		74.3	4	
		74.6	5	
		75.0	2	
(Medium heads.)	Sub-dolichocephalic	75.6	4	47 "
		76.9	6	
		77.0	5	
		77.1	8	
		77.4	10	
		77.7	14	
	Mesocephalic.	77.9	4	18 "
		78.5	5	
		78.6	4	
		79.2	5	
(Broad heads.)	Sub-brachycephalic	80.2	1	11 "
		81.0	2	
		81.3	2	
		81.6	3	
		82.8	2	
		83.3	1	
	Brachycephalic	83.5	3	8 "
		83.8	1	
		84.7	1	
		84.8	1	
		85.7	1	
		86.3	1	

The cranial index ranges from 71.6 to 86.3 giving an average of 78.9. The high percentage of medium heads and the average cranial index show that the Pulicat 'fair Muhammadans' are medium-headed. The nasal indices are as follows:—

	Index.	No. of Subjects.	Total.
(Narrow nose) Leptorrhine	nil.		
	48.0	8	24 subjects.
	48.3	3	
	48.6	3	
(Medium nose) Mesorrhine	48.7	4	
	48.9	2	
	52.1	4	76 subjects.
	53.1	1	
	53.4	2	
	56.2	6	
	57.8	4	
	59.0	13	
	61.2	11	
	63.1	8	
	66.6	2	
	67.7	10	
(Broad nose) Platyrrhine	68.7	2	
	70.0	1	
	70.4	2	
	73.6	1	
	76.4	1	
	78.5	1	
	78.9	1	
	80.0	1	
	80.9	1	
	82.3	1	
	83.3	2	
	85.0	1	
	85.7	1	
	87.0	1	
	88.9	1	
	89.4	1	

The nasal index varies from 48.0 to 89.4, the average being 68.7. The large number of Platyrrhine subjects and the average nasal index indicate these Muhammadans to be broad-nosed. The high nasal index is apparently a proof of their mixed descent from Arabs and the Tamils.

They belong to the Shafi sect of Sunnis. They are usually very timid and quiet. Their relations with the Hindus are very friendly though they have not adopted Hindu customs as the Dudekulas of Bellary and Cuddapah where Hindus often give their children Muhammadan names, e. g., Masthan Reddi, Masthan Ammal! Though they are timid by nature, some years ago bitter feud existed between two sections of these Muhammadans which manifested itself in serious riots during their religious processions on the occasion of the Mohurum. They are divided into two sections the *Rengen* with the red flag and the *Berbethal* with yellow flag. The yellow is said to be the male or right-hand party and is more numerous than the red which is the female or left-hand party.

These Muhammadans speak a characteristic dialect of Tamil. They address each other as 'Ennamulai' a corruption of 'Enna Anpillai,' meaning 'what man'. The sing-song intonation and pronunciation is quite peculiar. Their Koran is translated into Tamil known as 'Arai tamil' (half tamil) a corruption of 'Arabi Tamil' i. e. Tamil written in Arabic characters. When they read the Scriptures we find them reading one sentence of Arabic followed by its translation into Tamil, written however

in Arabic characters. Their correspondence, private and business, is carried on through Arabic letters in Tamil. The Bible Society, Madras, has followed this method in publishing their Edition of St. John in Tamil in Arabic characters for the benefit of the Lubbaïs of South India and Ceylon.

Pulicat and the village Karimanal the "Sembasi palli" of Persian records are important boat-building centres, the Muhammadan 'Odalîs' of which have always on hand many orders for construction of boats plying up and down the Buckingham Canal. These 'Odalîs' are usually of the dark brown variety. Many of the fair Muhammadans are traders doing business in Siam, Straits Settlements etc. Most merchants after amassing money return to Pulicat, frequently the homing instinct being very strong in them. With the exception of these merchants who hibernate here after a busy life in Penang and elsewhere, the others can be safely termed "drones". The houses built at a time when Pulicat was a flourishing emporium are very pretentious but unfortunately many of them are in ruins owing to the neglect to repair the blighting effects of biting winds loaded with salt spray. Many of the inhabitants are poor and eke out a precarious living by selling stones, timber, pillars etc. from the ruins of the palatial residences built by their rich forbears. Their children do not avail themselves of the benefits of modern education nor are the parents particularly anxious that they should. The only education is from the religious schools where they are taught to read and write 'Arabi Thamîl'. In the important religious school of the place, there are

three rooms on the doors of which are inscribed on one 'Babus Salem' 'another 'Babus Zekir' and the last 'Babel elmo' in Arabic. 'Babus Salem' (door of peace) and 'Babus Zekir' (door of meditation) rooms are open only from 8 to 10 in the mornings while 'Babel Elmo' (door of learning) room is open all day. The men do not care to be employed under others though some have now accepted service as agents to business men. The Village Munsiff of Pulicat is a Muhammadan and he always refers to the fact of his being the only Muhammadan in service under Government. But for their women folk the poverty of many families would be appalling. The women, though *gosha*, do a lot by way of weaving palmyra mats and fancy-coloured baskets of many curious shapes. These baskets are greatly in demand and the sale proceeds go to swell their otherwise slender resources. The women exceed the man in number. The census figures which relate to all Mussalmans of Pulicat are similarly curious, there being 393 males as against 496 females.

Some of the Muhammadans are more interested in sports than the docile Hindus who while away their time, particularly during the hot weather, shooting birds for curry with a blow gun called 'Sumpthan'. These blow pipes are owned mostly by men who have returned from Siam etc and are said to have been purchased from Bugis and Chinese traders there.

In Pulicat there are 19 blowpipes in use. It is a tube of hard red wood (palm) with an even bore and a polished smooth surface. Usually it is solid, the bore being obtained by drilling. In three

instances the tube was found made up of two pieces so finely pieced together by glue that the union is scarcely perceptible. Eight blow guns had a sheath of leather stitched on around the wooden tube. Both the ends of the blow gun are metallised. The metal is white and appears to be tin. Solid tin pieces from two to six inches long are taken and the bore drilled through the pieces, and two pieces with the same sized bore as that of the blow gun are fixed to the blow gun fore and aft. On the butt end the piece is longer than at the tail end. In three there were tin foils extending from the solid pieces on to the tube for a short space of less than an inch. The border of the tin foil was cut into a series of triangles. (See fig. 1). One blow gun had no metal ends at all.

The length of a blow gun is from 4 ft. 2 in. to 6 ft. 10 in. The external diameter at the muzzle end ranged from 2 in. to $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. The diameter externally at the other end varied from 1 in. to nearly $\frac{5}{8}$ in. The internal diameter which is the same throughout the blow gun, was found to be nearly $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch in all cases. The metal ends near the mouth end ranged in length from 3 in. to 5 in. while at the tail end varied from 2 to 4 in. The weights of the blow guns varied from 19 oz. to 54 oz. To help in taking accurate aim there is a sight close to the muzzle made of wax. The height of this wax piece is adjusted by the fingers which mould it to the required height. The missile used is a round pellet of clay moulded by fingers or as is now occasionally done in a bullet mould. The pellets are made some hours before they are required

for use. Darts are not used as missiles as is the case with the Kadirs and fishermen of the West Coast. Shooting is done by first placing a pellet in the mouth and when the blow pipe is put in the mouth and aim taken with the help of the wax-sight, the pellet is introduced into the gun by the tongue and shot out by a powerful effort of the lungs. Though experience enables the shooters to be accurate marksmen, the weapon, probably because of its weight, is clumsy and it is difficult for beginners to use it with good effect. The maximum distance to which the pellet could be propelled is about 80 yards though usually birds are shot at a distance of not more than 20 yards.

Labbais of Kilakarai and Negapatam, call them 'Sengthan'. The blow gun used by Tanjore pigeon fanciers for shooting alien birds is also called 'Sengthan'. This Tamil word is said to be a corruption of 'Sengthan' which means a stabbing weapon. On the West Coast some fishermen and Kadirs use blow guns, the former to shoot fish and the latter squirrels. There they are called 'Thumpithan kulal'.

The blow pipe which is very commonly used in the Malay Archipelago and neighbouring parts is known in Malay as 'Sumpitan' and this name is used in Pulicat for the blow gun. From 'Sumpithan' it is easy to get corrupted forms 'Senguthan' and 'Sengthan'. Whatever the facts of ancient history, whether the original Tamils were responsible for introducing the blowpipe from India to the Straits or not, the guns used by the Pulicat Muhammadans and Kilakarai Labbais, etc. are not indigenous.

The West Coast blow guns, more primitive in their nature and in the nature of the missiles used, are perhaps survivals from those days when the Tamil race spread overseas and introduced the blowpipe into Malaya where it has undergone more effective alterations. But the Malayalam name Thumpithan kulal (*kulal* means pipe) which is obviously a corruption of Sumpithan (compare the Malayalam word 'Thuji' derived from 'Suji' for needle) supports a converse argument.

The dress of the males is usually a long shirt, drawers, invariably coloured, and a skull cap. Sometimes white drawers and *longies* are also used. The head is shaved clean. The dress of the women is a jacket and a *saree* usually coloured. Elderly ladies use white *sarees*. All men, women and children use sandals (wooden) or leather slippers whether walking inside the house or outside.

They partake of both animal and vegetable food. Pork is eschewed completely. Pulicat Lake abounds in shrimps, prawns, crabs and fish. All these are freely used as food particularly the backwater crab '*Scylla serrata*' which is known hereabouts as the 'Palawerkadu nandu' because of its abundance in Pulicat Lake. For another delicacy, reckoned as such by Europeans who eat them raw, Pulicat Lake is famous, viz. oysters. Some Muhammadans eat cooked oysters, apparently an acquired taste, though in general they have an aversion for them. A story is current to explain this aversion. Once at low tide a Muhammadan who went to an oyster bed with intent to take some, while bending over the oysters and handling

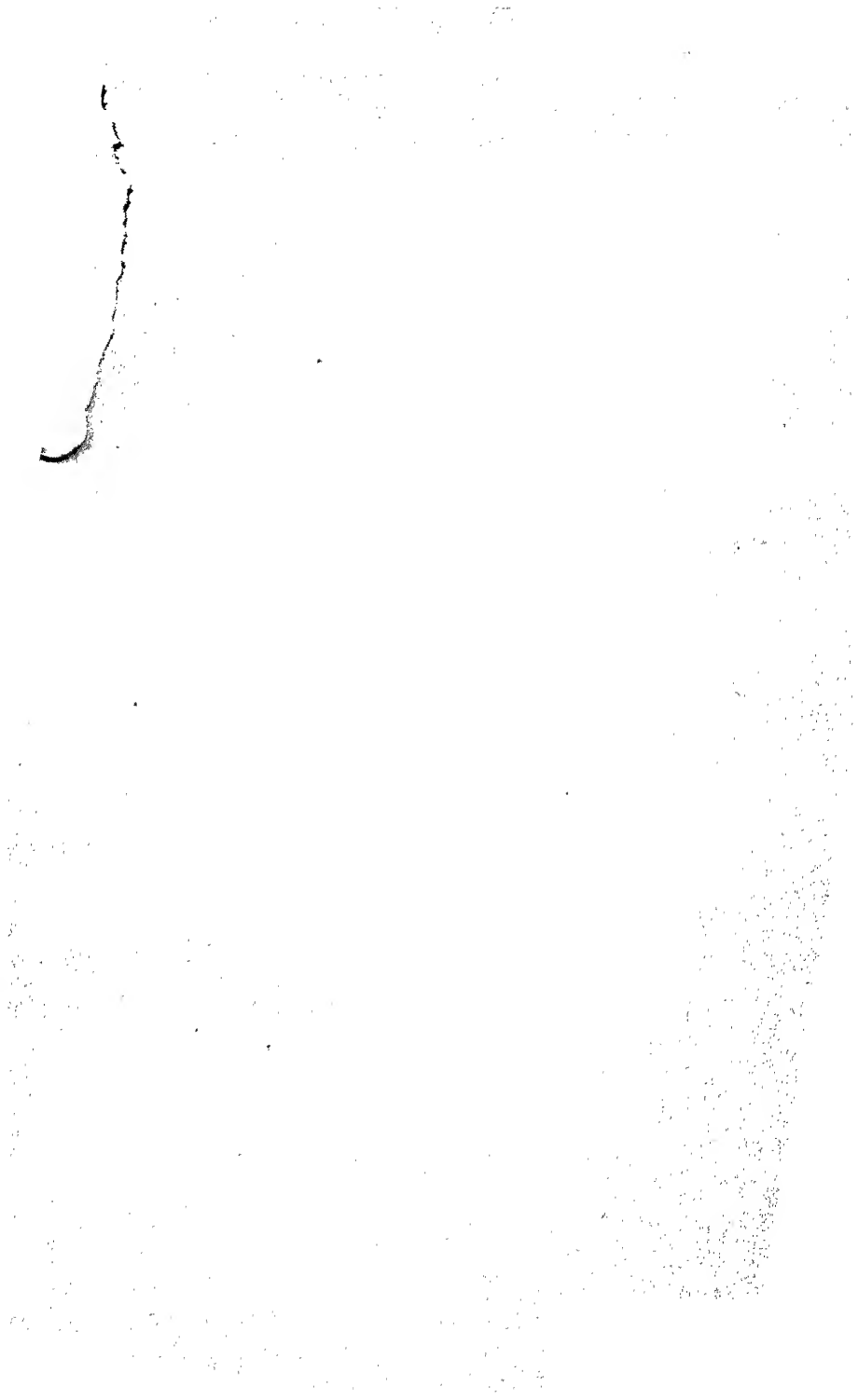


Fig. 1.

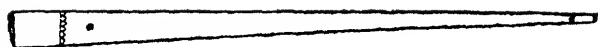


Fig. 2.



them unconsciously allowed the tips of his long beard to tickle an oyster which had just then opened its valves. The shells instantaneously shut themselves tight enclosing the tip of the beard and the man was fixed in that posture. The tide was rising but yet the man could not free himself. Some one suspected some thing was wrong, approached the victim and released him. He was jeered at by the whole village, which he left never to return! The eating of oysters and crabs by these Muhammadans is in accordance with the teaching of their leader Imam Shafi. The other important sect of Sunnis, the Hanafi, forbid the eating of those animals etc. not explicitly demonstrated as edible by the prophet Muhammad.

The Muhammadans are very timid and superstitious. Fear of ghosts is very prevalent particularly of those who died violent deaths or committed suicide. A new building was constructed near the old fort-moat where ghosts were said to shriek and dance at nights and a watchman for whose benefit the building was constructed would rather live in some other rented quarters than face the music of the ghosts. Soon after dusk, Pulicat,—at least the Muhammadan part of it—will be quiet, all people having retired, afraid to come out in spite of street lamps except during a moon light night. In their houses the front doors carry innumerable brass nails; and curious oblong shaped metallic plates, with curious lines and figures, are nailed to the wall above the cross door beam to ward off the evil eye. (See fig. 2).

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. THE LAND OF WOMEN.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B. A.

In his article on *The Land and Island of Women* in the December (1922) number of this Journal Dr. Crooke has called attention of Indians to the remarkable legend of the exclusive land of women, the Strirājya and the Mushika and country bordering on it, while he himself has collected very valuable information in regard to the probable site somewhere on the Malabar Coast and the Island near it. He has quoted the Mahabharata legend of Arjuna reaching a marvellous country peopled by women, who finally defeated him. In this country men went as visitors, but were not allowed to stay for more than a month. If they did, they were put to death. The male children were killed when born and only females were allowed to live. Without some such arrangement, it would have been impossible to maintain an exclusive female population. Males must have been much afraid to visit such a country and capture of males for marriages would have been almost inevitable.

In several aboriginal tribes we find marriage by capture of females more or less in vogue. It is still current in out-of-the-way places like the Bastar state in the Central Provinces, where the Gonds still practise it, the real old capture being now softened to a ceremonial one. In these days of English Law, the parents of the couple arrange the match previously by mutual consent. It is then

that the boy's party starts for capturing a girl and the capture is restricted to the girl already fixed upon. The parents of the girl make a mock search for her and finally the pair is wedded.¹ There is however a tribe named Kolam which practised marriage by capture of males. But they have now altogether given it up and even a mock ceremony as in the case of capture of females is not performed. But the fact is not forgotten and many Kolams have admitted before me the existence of the custom, which was prevalent almost a century ago.

The Kolams are found mostly in Berar and the western districts of the Central Provinces bordering on it. In the Hathigumpha inscription of the Jain King Kharavela mention is made of his conquest of the Mushika Country, the Rashtrikas and the Bhojakas lived near about Ellichpur, which was after them colled *Bhojakata*, as mentioned on the Chhamall grant² of the *Vakataku* King Pravaraseva II. The *Rashtrikas* were the *Rattas* or Maharathas, who inhabit the country now. The Mushika country which was close to these has been identified by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal with the tract lying somewhere within the Districts of Bhandara and Chanda in the Central Provinces³. As has been stated above, the Strirājya adjoined the Mushika Country and as such must have been

¹ *Central Provinces Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III p. 522.

² Gupta Inscriptions, p. 236.

³ Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal, Vol IV, Part IV, p. 375.

situated somewhere in the Yeotmal District (of Berar) where Kolams abound.

This identification was made by me in a vernacular journal ⁴ in the year 1918, but being a local paper, it did not of course reach the hands of scholars.

Judging from the language of the Kolams, the tribe appears to be a pre-Dravidian one, which eventually got mixed up with the neighbouring Dravidians and others. Sir George Grierson says ⁵ :—"The Kolami dialect differs widely from the language of the neighbouring Gonds. In some points it agrees with Telugu, in other characteristics with Kanarese and connected forms of speech. There are also some interesting points of analogy with the Toda dialect of the Nilgiris; and the Kolams must, from a philological point of view, be considered as the remnants of an old Dravidian tribe, who have not been involved in the development of the principal Dravidian languages, or of a tribe who have originally spoken a Dravidian form of speech."

This would point to their origin from the South somewhere near about Malabar, with which Wilson identified the Mushika country.

He put it down as "the land of thieves" and curiously the Kolams happen to belong to the same class. Whether this is fortuitous or they

⁴ *Hithkarini* of 1918 pp. 96 etc. seq.

⁵ *Linguistic Survey of India* Vol. IV. p. 561.

have inherited the criminal propensities from their forefathers is a question difficult to solve at the present day. If the correct name were *Mushika*, it would mean "the land of rats" which would appear to be an appropriate nickname given by the Aryans to the land of rat-eaters. In the Chanda District, Gonds abound and the flesh of rats continues to be a delicacy for them. One of the penalties for caste offences is a fine in rats which the offender must furnish to the number fixed by the tribal Panchayat.

II. THE CUSTOM OF BURNING HUMAN EFFIGIES OF STRAW ON THE LAST DAY of the BENGALI MONTH KARTIK (October—November)—in SOME PARTS OF BENGAL.

BY DHIRENDRA NATH MAJUMDAR, B. A.

The custom I am refering to in this paper is prevalent throughout the Dacca Division and I am told it is also known in other divisions of the Bengal Presidency. Kartik, the god of war, who is also known as the Commander-in-Chief of the gods—Deva Senapati—is worshipped by the female folk on the last day of the Bengali month Kartik ; and on this occasion, the people burn human effigies of straw—known as 'Bhûl' or 'Bholā'. The essential things required to make an effigy of straw are two pieces of bamboo and some straw. The two pieces of bamboo are so tied as to resemble a cross,—the vertical one representing the body and the horizontal one resembling two hands ; these two pieces are wrapped up with straw in a way so as to give it the appearance of a man. The whole frame is then carefully tied with rope or straw. There is no hard and fast rule as to the proportions of the effigy but generally it is so made as to render it handy.

It is generally burnt by boys and young men, and adults sympathise with their words. In the afternoon, all the boys and youths of the village go to a river or tank to catch fish and they return home as soon as they catch a few of the species required for burning along with the effigy ; two kinds

of fish are burnt and there is a Bengali proverb describing the kinds of fish to be burnt.

Ichār gurā váichār murā

Bhûl jai ra Dakshin murā

(which may be translated thus,

Little ones of lobsters and large vaichar [fish],
The Bhûl is taken to the South to be burnt)

Dakshin is used with reference to the direction of the river—because it is always burnt on the riverside and in places where there is no river the custom is to burn the effigies by the side of a tank or a pond.

Other things that are burnt with the effigy in addition to the fishes are mustard seeds, jute leaves (*rât pātā*) flies and mosquitos (*masā māchhi*) etc. These are put in leaves of the Kacvi plant (*arum colocasia*) and tied to the two hands of the effigy.

The place of the start is generally the family courtyard ; then all the men gather in an open maidan near about the village, whence they proceed in a procession to the river-side or tank. The whole affair takes half an hour or so to complete and the men then return to the village with the portion of the bamboo frame that remains unburnt ; they are greeted on their return by the women of the family with cries of *Hulu Hulu*. The frame is preserved till the next Kartik puja day when it is thrown away into the river or tank.

There is a Bengali saying which explains the object of the custom.—

Bhâli aiye, gurā jāe,

Masū Māchhir mākhh purā jāe

Dhané jané ghar bharya jāe.

which can be rendered thus:—

Good comes, evil flies,

Flies are burnt,

And the house gets filled with men and money.

Flies are the most obnoxious of all insects and the custom of burning flies may stand magically for the destruction of evils on earth—as the faces (*mukh*) of flies are burnt so the faces of enemies will be scorched.

The last line of the proverb has something to do with the advent of new faces (babies) in the family.

The fishes that are burnt with the effigy are also proverbial for their fabulous fecundity: so the spirit of these may perhaps be expected to enter into the woman (who performs the Vrata) and she may thereby be blessed with children.

Now it may be asked what special reasons there are which make people associate the burning of a straw effigy with the Kartik Vrata. The word 'Bhul' or Bhola' means forgetfulness,—so it may be said that the burning of Bhul stands for the Biblical expression 'Forgive and Forget' and the burning of fishes may signify the burning of evil things and the burning of mustard seeds and jute leaves would appear to stand for exorcism of evil spirits and the consequent calm atmosphere.

But when we consider the nature of the Kartik Vrata, its devotees and its object, we are led to a more important explanation of the ceremony.

Kartik is well known as the Deva Senapati or

the Commander-in-Chief of the gods or Devas and is regarded as the most beautiful of all the Devas; he is a confirmed bachelor and his regard for and devotion to his parents are proverbial. There is a remarkable story told about his filial piety; Kartik, it is said, was to marry and he came to his mother, Parvati, and found her eating voraciously a full dish of rice and curry as he had never seen her doing before; this excited Kartik's curiosity and he enquired what made his mother behave thus. Parvati smiled and said, 'My dear boy, you are going to marry to-day; may peace and prosperity attend you; now your wife will come and she will be the mistress of the family and perhaps she may not allow me to eat my fill then. So I am taking my meal today to my heart's content perhaps for the last time'. Kartik was very sorry to hear his mother and he at once promised never to marry all his life, and even to this day he is a confirmed bachelor.

Now this filial devotion is a very high recommendation to all mothers and they worship the god Kartik on the last day of the Bengali month Kartik (October—November) and pray to him to bless them with beautiful and devoted children. In each family, every female worshipper worships one Kartik, the widows excepted,—so that in a family consisting of some 5 or 6 adult women it is not surprising to find 5 or 6 Kartiks worshipped side by side.

Thus it appears that the burning of a straw effigy may mean the longing of a woman for a beautiful and devoted child. 'Dhané jané ghar bharyā jai'.

The practice of burning huts by barren women in the hope of procuring offspring is common in the Punjab and the Central Provinces. The idea of hut-burning appears in one of the magical charms recorded in the Atharva Veda. Similar cases have been reported from the Central Provinces: If a woman is barren and has no children, one of the remedies prescribed by the Sarodis or wandering sooth-sayers is that she should set fire to somebody's house going alone at night to perform the deed.¹

It is not therefore unusual to connect the burning of the straw effigy with the prayer for children.

¹ Vide W. Crooke's article on *Hut-burning in India* in *Man.* 1919-20. No. 11.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES AND QUERIES.

In the jungly District of Betul, which however contains one of the most sacred shrines of the Jains at Muktagiri, called Shiddha The Rainbow. Kshetra, as $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores of Sadhus are believed to have obtained salvation there, along with 2 Buddhist Viharas about 35 miles away from the Jaina holy place and numerous Vishnuite, Sivite, Musalman and Gond remains, but where the aborigines (Gonds and Korkus) abound forming no less than 37 per cent of the total population of the District, the rainbow is known by the name of Dhaman-gota or a ball of variegated colours. It is believed to shoot forth from a *bami* (snake's hole). Two *bamis* simultaneously throw out 2 *golas*, which meet in the sky and form one bow. These *bamis* are believed to contain *Patal tumbdi* or underground gourd, which is said to be like the seed of lotus. It is used as a medicine for *Bathar rog* or cloud disease, otherwise known as *Dabba*, with which children are usually afflicted. My informant, an old man of 60, assured me that he once was quite close to the *bami* whence the rain-bow shot forth. After it disappeared he dug out the *bami* and found in it a quarter *seer* of *Patal tumbdi*, which he distributed to the villagers for use in the cloud disease. *Dabba* is said to be produced from the effects of clouds and so

also the rain-bow. Hence the *patal tumbdi*, which is the origin of the bow, is believed to act sympathetically and cure the disease, produced from a cause common to both.

HIRALAL (*Rai Bahadur*).

Below are noted some popular superstitions that I have come across in the Central Provinces :—

1. Do not clean your house at twilight; if you do so, the Goddess of wealth would desert you.
2. Do not throw a gourd on a road; if you do so, any one crossing it will get Tertiary fever.
3. Do not clean your court-yard with a broom during the rains; if you do so, there will be no rain.
4. In the month of Asarh (June-July) do not put 3 pitchers on your head, one over the other; if you do so, the rains will cease.
5. Do not utter the word 'Bandar' (monkey) in the morning; if you do so you will have to fast the whole day.
6. Do not sleep with your feet to the South; if you do so, your life will be shortened.
7. Do not eat a plum in the night; if you do so, your family would become extinct.
8. Do not clean a cattle-pen with a broom; otherwise the cattle would die.
9. Do not make fire from a lamp; otherwise you will become a debtor.
10. Do not take out lime from the chuneti (a cylindrical brass receptacle for keeping *chunam* for betel) with the handle of a nut-cracker; otherwise you will get involved in debt.

11. Don't go over the ground where one has made water, on Sundays or Wednesdays, otherwise you will get boils on your tongue.
12. Do not eat brinjals mixing them with milk, otherwise you will get *sehnā* (white skin, a disease).
13. Do not touch cattle with a broom on Sundays or Wednesdays, otherwise they would get *uchala* (a disease).
14. Do not sit placing both your hands on the forehead, otherwise some evil will overtake you.
15. Do not sit with your head on your own knees, otherwise something inauspicious will happen.
16. Do not light a lamp from another one by the touch of wicks, otherwise you will become poor.
17. Do not carry fire on an unbroken cow-dung cake, otherwise some evil occurrence will be the result.
18. Do not go out of the house carrying a burning faggot, otherwise something inauspicious will happen.
19. Do not put cow dung cakes in a gram-bin, otherwise there will be no rain.
20. Do not bury a plate underground, otherwise there will be no rain.
21. Do not anoint the body with oil from a burning lamp, otherwise you will get *sehnā* (white skin disease).
22. Let not a maternal uncle and sister's son cross a stream together in a boat, otherwise the latter would sink down.
32. Do not extinguish a lamp by blowing with

- your mouth, otherwise you will lose your teeth.
24. Don't sit on the door-sill in the evening, otherwise the Goddess of Wealth will not enter your house.
 25. In the evening don't put a cot in a position for use, without spreading a bedding or any piece of cloth on it, otherwise some evil will be the result.
 26. Do not strike a dog in a field, otherwise you will be committing a sin.
 27. Let not women loosen their hair or clean the head on Tuesdays, otherwise they will become widows.
 28. Do not carry fire from between two persons, otherwise something inauspicious will supervene.
 29. Let not a male extinguish a lamp, otherwise loss of wealth will follow.
 30. Don't weep facing South, otherwise the consequence will be evil.
 31. Let not three persons go out for doing the same work, otherwise failure will be the result.
 32. The sight of crows copulating will cause the death of the person seeing it or of some member of his family.
 33. While walking let not one hand touch the other, otherwise a quarrel will ensue.
 34. Let not the wife utter the name of her husband and *vice versa*, otherwise the life of the offender will be shortened.
 35. Don't eat sitting on the door sill, otherwise indebtedness will be the result.
 36. Don't eat with your back to the oven, otherwise your store-house will become empty.

37. A daughter should not clean the moss growing on water-pitchers, otherwise her mother would die.
38. Don't drink like a cow, otherwise you will be reborn as a cattle after death.
39. If you see a woman's face in the morning, all your acts on that day will be failures.
40. If a snake crosses your way, you will be put to great trouble that day.
41. A woman should not climb the roof of a house, otherwise she would be born a wife in her next birth.
42. Do not look into a broken mirror, otherwise your life will be shortened.
43. A woman should not light a lamp, while standing, otherwise her husband's life would be shortened.
44. Don't take catechu from the food of another person, otherwise enmity will be the result in the end.
45. A physician should not go to his patient on horse-back or with a stick, otherwise his efforts will not be successful.
46. Do not strike a dog with a broom, otherwise you will get indebted.
47. The pulse once put on the grinding stone should not be cooked and eaten as ordinary pulse otherwise the cook will beget girls and not boys.
48. Don't sit on a grindstone or you will get boils.
49. Do not tighten the ropes of a cot during the night; if you do so, you will beget girls only

50. Do not walk over a child on Sundays or Wednesdays; if you do so, it will not grow.

If properly examined, it would be found that some of the superstitions noted above are based on some principle likely to be overlooked if not fixed in the mind in a form attracting general notice. For instance the first one exhibits practical wisdom in an Indian house, where small trinkets or articles are likely to be swept off if the cleaning of the house is done when it is getting dark. I had once a very impressive experience of this, when a little packet containing a gold coin I had obtained with some difficulty was swept off by the maid servant sweeping the house at that inauspicious hour. Fortunately she put the cleanings in a corner of the compound and as I happened to find out the loss next morning, I was able to recover it from the dust heap. This coin was finally presented to the Superintendent of Archaeology, Poona, who wrote in his final report that it was the smallest gold coin he had ever seen and that it weighed about a grain.

It will be noticed that some of the superstitions are based on sympathetic magic. For instance, take the last one. By crossing over a child you fix the limit of its height, equal to that of your waist. The growth is thus stunted by the force of sympathetic magic. It would be interesting if the readers of 'Man in India' could analyse others and find the bases on which they stand.

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With reference to the article on '*Tree-cults in the district of Midnapur*' by Mr. Chittaranjan Raya, in '*Man in India*' of Dec. 1922 (p. 242), I suggest that the names of the Pirs given in the Nagari character suggest the object for which the trees are worshipped. I think the name Nekurasani (Pir) is Pers. *neku rasān* i. e., the supplier or fulfiller of good. As the prayers of the Pir fulfilled the desires of the worshippers, they called him by the name signifying the object. The Persian or the Hindustani name suggests that the worship must have first begun with the Mahommedans. Similarly the name Makdum (Pir) also suggests the object of worship. Pers. Magadum is one who is "placed before" and given preference.

The word शिरना *shirna* seems to be Pers. *shereni* meaning sweets

J. J. MODI, B. A., PH. D., C. I. E.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

The tenth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress held its sittings at Lucknow from the 8th to the 13th of January last. A number of interesting papers were read in the Section of Anthropology of which Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. J. J. Modi, B. A., PH. D., C. I. E., acted as the President. The Presidential address was on the "*Zest given to Life by the study of Cultural Anthropology*", A few of the papers have been reproduced in the present issue of this Journal and we expect to publish a few more in our next number. Of some others abstracts are given below.

Anthropological considerations brought to bear upon the Fallacy or otherwise of the Theory of Nagar Brahmins being regarded as Sakas or Scythians—By S. S. METHA.

Sir H. Risley has brought Anthropology to bear on the question:—Are Nagars a mixture of the Saka-Dravidian races? He has in his well-known work classified the people of India, Burma and Afganistan into three races, viz. Aryans, Dravids and Mongols; and following the idea of mixed blood, he classified them into seven,—putting Nāgars under Saka-Dravidian races.

Now, roughly speaking, it can be noted that broad head, whitish colour, small appreciable hair on the face, medium size, or stature, and nose, neither too long and aquiline nor too short and snub are among the leading characteristics of

the Saka-Dravid race; and it is alleged these are possessed by Nagars.

It can be held, on the other hand, that those characteristics, physical and intellectual, that are observed in a certain class or community of people, are not necessarily constant; and that after a certain length of time, the influence of environments is brought to bear upon them, so as to effect a suitable change. So has Mr. G. Spiller observed. Again, as it has been remarked, physical characteristics are generally determined by the natural scenes, climatic changes, coolness or warmth, and the quantity of food, enjoyed by the people in any place; and they are bequeathed from generation to generation.

Moreover, it often happens that in regard to the measurements of heads, races living far remote from one another agree among themselves and exhibit similarity of measurement, whereas those living near one another are conspicuous by the disparity existing in this connection. The French of Haute Vienne have the shape of the head more alike to the Brahmans of Bengal who live far remote from them than to the French of Correze who reside almost in their neighbourhood. In fact, anthropometry is still a progressive science; and even with regard to characteristics, difference of opinion prevails among experts: Pruner Bey, Bory de St. Vincent, Hæckel; Cuvier and Sir William Flower have laid emphasis on similar as well as different characteristics; so also have Broca, Topinard and Isidore Geoffroy. And as held by

Mr. R. R. Marret, the whole is an inductive process of reasoning; and as long as no sure differentiating mark can be traced, no conclusion can be safely warranted.

Again, Saka Dravids were pre-historic races and there is no material evidence to gauge their true characteristics. Mr. Haddon has given some of these as relating to the Aryans and Dravids. Penka, on the other hand, differs from Sergi, in this very respect.

Lastly, during the first century A. D. Gujarat and *Kathiawar* were inhabited by the Aryans; besides, Sir H. Risley had taken measurements of a hundred individuals of the Nâgar community in Ahmedabad alone; it is, however, well known that Nâgars live in Rajputana, the Panjab, U. P., and Bengal. Can his conclusion be not considered as having been based on scanty grounds? Research must still be carried on, and exhaustively, so as to warrant a sound conclusion.

The social life of a Christian of Medieval England and the social life of a Parsee of Modern India.—By J. J. MODI.

It is often well said, that human nature is the same everywhere. That being the case, we find that, in one period or another of the growth of the civilization of a people, many of its customs and manners are similar to those of some other people at some period of that people's existence. An Englishman of the present twentieth century, when he comes to India

and sees, hears, or reads of the customs and manners of the Indians of the present day, feels a little surprised at finding many things strange. But, if he will cast an eye upon a picture of the social customs and manners of his own people of about the fifteenth century, he will find that in the social life of the people of modern India he sees, as it were, a reflex of the social life of his ancestors of England of about 500 years ago. The object of this paper is to compare the social life of Mediæval England and that of modern India. For the picture of the social life of Mediæval England, I follow what is said in a recent interesting book entitled—*The Pastons and their England* by Mr. H. S. Bennett. India being more a continent than a country, and a continent of many creeds and colours, the customs and manners of one part naturally differ from those of another part. But generally, what we call the *household life* is the same in its broad aspects. So, in this paper, I speak generally on the authority of what I know personally of my own Parsee community; but I think, that in what I say, my Hindu friends will find much of a reflex of their household life. Though the social life of a Parsee is changing in some directions, still there are many old Parsee families in the old Parsee centres of Naosari, Surat and Broach, where it is the same as that of fifty years ago. The resemblances are very close under the heads of the three principal events of a man's life—(1) Birth, (2) Marriage (and womanhood) and (3) Death. (a) Impressive funeral ceremonies, (b) Funeral prayers, (c) Funeral feasts, (d) the clergy, (e) "Letters of Fraternity."

The Owl in Folklore.—By J. J. MODI.

The custom of taking omen from birds is well-nigh common among all people, because among the animal creation, it is the birds which man sees, meets with and hears the most about. The etymology of words for omen among many different peoples testifies to the generality of the custom. The subjects discussed in this paper by Dr. Modi are—

1. The Owl in the Avesta.
2. The reason why the owl is held to be inauspicious. Its characteristic of generally avoiding habitations and seeking ruins, deserted places and deserts. A kind of ascetic bird.?
3. The story of Solomon suggesting why owls seek sequestered places. Its cry of "yā hu yā hu."
4. Merkhond's story about the origin of the custom of taking omen from owls in the time of Kayomars, the first Peshdadian king of Iran. The story about the omen from a cock.
5. The story of a Mobad telling a king of Iran that the owl prayed for the long life of the king.
6. Poet Firdousi on owls.
7. The unpopularity of the owls illustrated by the language used for it by Western poets.
8. The owl held to be a Bird of Wisdom by the Greeks. It was included in the Canon of Ornithological Divination.
9. Luminous owls. Supposed reasons for their luminosity.
10. The different positions and postures of the owl augured different omens.
11. Men's idea of associating omens from others,—bird, animal or man with the characteristics or

occupation of those from whom the omens are taken.

12. The use of owl in the economy of nature.

Brahmacharyya as understood by Gotama.—By S. BHAGWAT.

Connotation of the words “Buddhism” and “Gotama”.

The word ‘Brahmacharyya’ occurring in the Tripitaka. A band of faithful and disinterested persons to carry on Gotama’s message of relief. Giving up individual Samsāra and identifying oneself on the Samsāra of the world, on attaining Arhatship. Three references for the use of the word Brahmacharyya in the sense of morasticism. Buddhism is not opposed to Aryanism. To understand that, a review of the religious life of the Hindus is necessary. A historical survey of the Vedas, the Brahmins, the older Upanishads and the earlier Dharmasutras is therefore necessary.

A. Historical Review :

(a) The Vedas. The Rigveda representing the life of the Aryans.

The Religion consisting of the worship of Nature. Man’s duty to be humble and sincere before God. Worship resolves itself into Oblation and Prayer. No rehearsal of sacred texts. Muni holding intercourse with the gods.

(b) The Brahmins : The idea underlying Brahmacharyya elucidated. Priesthood asserting itself, and becoming a distinct profession. Ritualism assuming higher importance. God’s returning into shape. Brahmin becoming the member

of a caste, hence the necessity of Brahmacharyya.

(c) The Upanishads. Reaction against the Karma Mārga and the sacerdotal aristocracy. Speculations of a bold type. Peculiarities of the Brahmana and the Upanishad periods tabulated.

(d) The Dharma Sūtras. A practical spirit coming over the Hindu world.

General Results :

(a) Religious studentship essential.

(b) The details of the Upanayana like the costume, food, etc.

(c) Change in the idea of Brahmacharyya brought about in the Upanishadic period. ज्ञानमार्ग (jñān-mārga) coming ahead.

Gotama's Mortifications: study of abstract meditation, under two preceptors and proficiency in two practices of समाधि (samādhi).

Correction and Ultimate Success: Buddha soon realises his mistakes, takes reasonable food, attains Nirvāṇa and Buddhahood. His middle doctrine quoted. Illustrations of the simple and pure character of Gotama's Brahmacharyya.

Ideal Life described :

(a) The word Brahmacharyya invested with a new signification. The progressive paths of the Brahmachāri harmonised with the Regressive paths of the Bhikshu; Buddha calling this as the best life.

(b) All the castes admitted to practise Brahmacharyya. This democratic spirit is most remarkable.

(c) Development of character. Bhikshus to train the mind. Ethical purity aimed at.

- (d) Old institution of Gurukula modelled on entirely new lines. Life common with common aims, with common aspirations appealed to Gotama the most. The Church, the monastery, the college and the temple all located in one, their duty being to lead a pure and spotless life.
- (e) Imposition of personal and congregational duties on Bhikshus. Considerations not of the self but of neighbours, and people in general.

The racial (foreign and indigenous) origins of Indian statutory and customary laws.—By J. A. SALDANHA.

Indian statutory laws—apart from constitutional and revenue laws—are based on natural law or equity practically breathing the spirit of the English law. The Mahomedan law is an exotic plant in India, springing from the Koranic legislation expounded by various schools. Among Hindus, endogamy and exogamy are almost universal. In Southern India and the Karnatak Dekkhan there exist survivals of Dravidian exogamy combined with totemism, which explain many of the peculiar customs as to marriage and succession. In the Bombay Presidency, females except widows come in by way of inheritance for an absolute estate, a peculiarity which reflects the freedom of woman among a seafaring people, whose males have to be away across the ocean. The Panjab, the cock-pit of India of warring races and nations, has had little time to come under the influence of Brahmanism unlike almost everywhere else in the rest of India and has developed its own

customary laws; while Bengal, far away from the impact of most of the foreign invasions, has had time enough under Brahmanic influences to develop a law of succession based on spiritual efficacy and effect a disintegration of the joint family system; and central Indian provinces round about Delhi, Allahabad and Benares centres of Aryan (not necessarily Brahman) supremacy bear traces of this supremacy, in their customary law. In this essay an attempt is made to trace the main ethnical forces in operation in the origin and growth of the Indian laws—especially its legal customs. The principal races that have contributed to make up the population of India and develop their usages are the Turanian, Dravidian, Aryan, Semitic and Ethiopic, whose racial influences are more or less easily traceable in the religion, folklore and usages of the people.

Was there any institution in ancient Iran like that of caste in India?—By J. J. MODI.

The word 'Caste', as used at present in India, suggests the consideration of several questions such as purity of blood, profession inter-dining and inter-marriage.

There are several views among scholars about the origin of Caste. The theory of M. Senart, partly supported by that of Risley though somewhat different, sees its origin in the first Aryan invasion of India when the conquering Aryans, with some idea of superiority, looked down upon the aborigines of the land—the pre-Dravidians and the

Dravidians—as inferior people. The ancient Iranians had no aborigines to deal with. Still they considered themselves separate from other people, calling themselves Airya and the others An-Airya. But in spite of this division, they have shown in their religious books a regard for the good people of all the non-Aryan countries. Together with an invocation to the Fravashis—Holy Spirits of the good people of their own Airyan country—they have invoked and praised the good spirits of the Righteous of all non-Aryan countries.

Their first division among themselves is attributed to Jamshed of the Peshdadian dynasty, the Yima Kshaeta of the Avesta, the Yama of the Vedas. That division was fourfold and was according to the professions of (a) Priesthood, (b) War, (c) Agriculture and (d) other trades and arts. There appears at first no idea of any prohibition of inter-dining or inter-marriage. But there is no doubt, that those who held the profession of priesthood (*Athravan*) were held to be superior. They were at the same time held to be poor. Medical men were asked to treat them free. This division seems to have continued and Ardeshir Babegan, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, at the time of what is called the Iranian Renaissance of his time after the devastation caused by Alexander the great, enforced the division more strictly, enjoining that a member of one profession should not give up his own profession and take up another without the permission of the State. But still there is no prohibition of inter-marriage or inter-dining among themselves. In the

Avesta, the only prohibition referred to is that the righteous must not marry the unrighteous. History records several cases of royal marriages out of the fold, i. e. with non-Aryans or non-Zoroastrians; but the spirit of the books, especially in the Pahlavi writings, is that of a general dislike towards marriages with aliens or non-Zoroastrians. It seems that it was in India that latterly there grew up the custom that the Athravan or priestly class can marry a female member of the other classes, but he cannot give his daughter in marriage to a man of other classes. Similarly, latterly in India a Parsee priest who officiated at the inner liturgical ceremonies was prohibited to dine with, or eat the food prepared by, a non-Athravan.

Traces of the Evolution Theory in old Persian literature.—By J. J. MODI.

The Theory of Evolution is connected with the name of Darwin, but it is not generally known that, to some extent, it is a pre-Darwinian view. The object of this paper is to show that some traces of Evolution can be seen in old Parsi books, and that Man was not taken to be a brand new spontaneous creation. All creation was believed to have existed at one time in a kind of motionless (a-muitâr), static (a-ravâ) and intangible (a-girâftâr) condition. This was a kind of spiritual (minoihâ) condition or state that can be only conceived by the mind. Then it took a tangible or visible form. On the creature assuming that tangible or visible form, there came in destruction. Then there followed the period

of visible Construction and Destruction. Abura Mazda first created Asman, i.e. air or the ethereal universe. Then water (maya, i.e. liquid). Then earth (jamik). Then vegetation (urvar). Then animals (kirâ). Lastly man (anshûtâ). The origin of Man proceeded from a lower form of life—from vegetation. Man is not "Something out of Nothing," but he is created or evolved out of a lower form of creation. Gayomard was originally the progenitor or ancestor of the "Common Stock of Life." Then, he is taken to be the first man, and then the first King. The first couple grew up in the form of ravâs (a kind of tree) and were joined at the back and it was difficult to recognize male and female. The very first human beings lived on water and then on milk and then on flesh. They produced fire from the friction of two kinds of wood. They first covered their bodies with grass or leaves (gihâ) and then with skins (pushtin). They dug into the earth to live in (pavan Zamik gâri barâ khafrunt). They then acquired iron and shaped it into instruments by means of stone, using a furnace (tavâki) for the purpose. Then, cutting wood they lived in wooden huts. At first, sexes were contained in one body. A desire for sexual intercourse grew later on. The parents of the first human stock devoured their children. Then first came into existence seven pairs. Their average age was 100 year. From these pairs and their progeny descended 15 races (sardah). Thence came 25 species, among which some were a kind of human monsters. For example, some had ears on the breast (vargush),—some had eyes on their breasts. Some were eggged.

Some were bat-winged. Some were with tails. Some were with hair on the body.

The Native Craft of Western India and Persian Gulf.—By J. MUNSTER.

In the case of European shipping, from the coracle of the Ancient Britons to the present-day Atlantic liner, the art of construction has steadily improved; till the time of the Clipper ship of the last century, the principle of motive power remained unchanged but from the time that the first steamer was launched the improvement of motive power has been much more rapid.

But turning to the shores of India and the Persian Gulf, we see a striking contrast with the construction of the sea-going and coasting native craft remaining the same to-day as they have been throughout the centuries, for the reason that the modern civilization of Europe has advanced while the ancient civilization of the East has remained stationary, and this fact is all the more wonderful when one considers the amount of sea-borne trade carried on by these vessels.

Just as the Europeans have their Cutters, Schooners, Brigs and Ships, there are also several classes among the native craft, passing under the single name of Dhow among European sailors but which are classed by the natives as:—

- (a) The Prow,
- (b) The Muchwa,
- (c) The Gulbad and the Phatimar,
- (d) The Indian 'Kotia' and Arab 'Bagla,'

with tonnage varying from three to two hundred tons, and carrying from three to twenty hands, the most striking fact about all these being the primitive methods of navigation. We generally find on the sea-going craft an old compass, a prehistoric quadrant, a chart, the use of which perhaps the Nakoda may not be knowing at all; yet he takes his ship from Bombay to Mauritius or Zanzibar being seldom far out in his reckoning.

Some variations in the customs and manners among the Telugu Brahmans of the Godavari District and the Tamil Brahmans of the Tennevelly District—
By K. C. VIRARAGHAVA.

Though the Brahmans in these districts call themselves Aryans, their customs and manners differ. The items of answering calls of nature, bathing, washing clothes, dressing, eating, the manner of treating sick patients, etc., are compared and contrasted in this paper.

*The Legend of the Amazons.—*By G. E. L. CARTER.

The paper opens with a recital of a number of Indian legends and customs bearing on the Amazon legend or illustrating it. It shows that all lead to one conclusion that the main legend was based on a system of hypergamy, modified to the extent of a superior race rejecting female children and an inferior race being allowed to rear only female children. The exclusion of female

strongly marked Indo-Aryan trait, especially in the countries around western Asia. It is particularly marked in India and an interesting deduction is drawn from Chandragupta Maurya taking a dynastic name from his mother.

The theory of line breeding is then examined as a possible method of tribal development and sundry genealogies are examined to obtain concrete examples of hypergamy in known families.

The transition of hypergamy into exogamy is then illustrated from Indian examples, the most illustrative being among the Lohars of Gujarat.

The general theory of the paper is then confirmed by customs of the ancient Persians and by a general reliance on the probability of the whole matter on an evolutionary basis.

The paper has tables appended showing how the sex ratio depends on caste. These tables are based on the census reports of 1911 (the only ones available when the paper was written). A reference is made to the Census Report for 1921 (Bombay Presidency) where the question of the sex ratio has been officially discussed with conclusions not differing greatly from those arrived at in the paper.

The paper incidentally is held to supply a working hypothesis as to how Aryanism was able to spread as a political force with a minimum of effect on the stocks of the people subject to the invasions.

The full-moon festival of the Tripuris or the three flying cities of the Asuras : A probable relic of the struggle between the Devas (Indo-Aryans) and the Asuras (Iranian-Aryans). By P. B. JOSHI.

Hitherto we have been accustomed to look at our festivals and rituals strictly from an orthodox point of view, that is, we have generally attached to them the same meaning which was assigned to them by our orthodox priests and pedantic pandits. The researches of scholars in the field of archæology, antiquity, anthropology, ethnology, astronomy, chemistry, and other branches of science, have revealed to our view many new objects and facts and the time has come when we must begin to change our methods and ways of thinking.

Although our Puranas are not a mere collection of idle myths or superstitious legends, as some western writers imagine, yet it must be admitted that they contain a good deal of exaggeration and, being written by poets, they are full of metaphors, coloured or fanciful ideas and symbolic language. They do no doubt contain some fragments of history, but the grains of historical gold require to be picked up from a mass of chaff. Thus, for example, Ravana, the king of Lanka, who is described in our epics as a Dashamukha or ten-headed monster, was not in reality a monster with ten heads. Then how is the expression 'Dashamukha' to be explained? It is to be explained in this way:—The Vedas are four in number and the Vendāngas are six. Thus the Vedic Literature consists of ten parts or branches, and as Ravana was well-versed in all

these branches, he was designated Dashamukha or endowed with ten heads. Even at the present time we speak of learned Brahmans well versed in the ten branches of the Vedic Literature as Dashagranthis (दशग्रन्थि) or "Ten-Books men;" and there are several families of Brahmans in India who bear the surnames of Dwivedis (Two-Vedis) and Trivedis (or three-Vedis).

It has already been stated that some of our rituals and festivals contain relics of historical events requiring a careful research and investigation in order to be able to trace their correct origin ; and the festival of the Tripuris is one of them. In this festival, in my opinion, I can find traces of the struggle between the Indo-Aryan—the followers of the Devas, and the Iranian Aryans—the followers of the Asuras. There are two narratives of this festival, (1) as given in the Dronaparva of the Mahâbhârat, and (2) as given in the Puranas. The Mahâbhârat account is earlier and more reliable of the two, and here we shall give a summary of the account given in the Mahâbhârat.

In ancient times a great struggle took place between the Devas and it lasted for a long time. Eventually the Asuras having sustained a defeat, their chief Mayâsura along with his friends Tāraka, Vidyunmali, and Kamalāksha, practised penance and thereby pleased Bramhâ, the god of creation. Mayâsura then requested the god Bramhâ to grant him the power and skill for constructing three flying cities, each at a distance of 100 yojanas (800 miles) and the god of creation complied with his request. By the favour of the Creator, Mayâsura

constructed three flying cities which were immune from the attacks of the Devas and the curses of the Brahmans, though they were liable to destruction under certain circumstances—from the arrow of Siva. Mayâsura then created three flying cities of gold, iron and silver respectively, one above the other, and gave them in charge of his three friends, Vidyunmali, Tārakâsura and Kamalâksha respectively. After this he created for himself a separate city above all of them. But as Mayâsura had some friends among the Devas, he persuaded his Asura kinsmen not to disturb or fight with the Devas. For a time this salutary advice was strictly obeyed by the countrymen of Mayâsura, but after the lapse of some time they disregarded this peaceful advice and began to tease and trouble the Devas. The Devas, therefore, headed by Indra, went to the God Brahmâ, and the latter took them to Siva, the god of destruction. Leaving all their differences saide, Brahmâ, Indra, Varuna and other gods became united and held a consultation for destroying the three flying cities of the Asuras. Eventually it was resolved that Siva, the god of destruction should lead the army of the Devas. Siva, then, made the two mountains, Gandhamâdan and Vindhya the two poles of his car, the earth with all the oceans and forests, his chariot, and the snake Shésa the axle of his chariot. The sun and moon were made the wheels, Malaya the yoke, and the great Takshaka the chord for fastening the yoke to the poles. The four Vedas were made to serve as the four steeds, and the auxiliaries

of the Vedas the bridle-bits of his steeds. Gâyatri and Savitri were made the reins and Brahmâ the driver. The Mandar mountain was made the bow, Vâsuki the string, Vishnu its excellent arrows and the God of fire the arrowhead. With all this equipment Siva took his army against the Asuras, and by the discharge of the arrow, composed of the Fire of Dissolution, caused the three flying cities to be burnt to ashes along with the Asuras. But as the Asura Maya (Ahura Mayas) was not hostile towards the Devas, no harm was done to him. This event occurred on the full-moon night of the bright half of the month of Kartik (November) during the Pushya constellation, and in order to commemorate this great victory over the Asuras the full-moon festival of the Tripuris was founded.

Here the name Maya-Asura or Ahura-Maya is interesting. This Asura Maya appears to be the same skilful architect who constructed the wonderful Durbar Hall called Maya Sabhâ at Indra-prastha for the Pandavas on the occasion of the intallation of Yudhisthira as King of Bhârat-Varsha (India); and a detailed account of this Maya-Sabhâ is narrated by the sage Vyâs in the Sabhâ-parva of the Mahâbhârat. Asura Maya is the same as Ahura Maya (Ahura Maz), and as Asura Maya was considered to be an inhabitant of a foreign country, that is, the land of the Asura, in all likelihood he was an Iranian Aryan by nationality. The Iranians were skilful in art and science, and it is probable that this skilful architect, with a view to help his kinsmen, must have utilised his ingenuity in the construction of the three flying

cities which probably resembled in some way or other, the modern zeppelins or aeroplanes.

The nose-ring as an Indian ornament—By N. B. DIVETIA.

The nose-ring is worn by women all over India at present in a variety of shapes. And yet this ornament, or, for the matter of that, any nose-ornament, is unknown to Samskrit literature or lexicons and to ancient Indian civilization. There is no word for this ornament in Samskrit. The several words current in our modern vernaculars, viz. *natha* (नथ), *nathni* (नथनी), *vālī* (वाली), and *vesara* or *besara* (वेसर or बेसर) are of non-Samskritic origin. [The mention of the Gurjar women's nose-ornament as *vālī*, and the poem on it in a spurious verse in the Gujarati translation of Merutanga's *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* is unreliable. The verse is on the face of it a forgery.] The word *natha* is traced back to a *desya* word, *ṇathā*, which, however, means the nose-string of a beast.

I account for the absence of the nose ornament in ancient India by the theory that this ornament was a Moslem importation. Originally a symbol of slavery, the nose ring was invested with a new value and came to be regarded as an article of personal adornment, and even as a sign of married bliss for a woman. The association of slavery was not unknown in our country; a Jain poet of the seventeenth century A. D. distinctly refers to this idea.

Bulak, which is a pearl strung pendant worn

through a hole bored in the wall between the two nostrils, is entirely a Moslem article of ornamentation, adopted in special cases by Hindus for boys who have survived several children born to their parents and dead ; such boys being named Bulaki (Bulakhi), Ram Dās, and the like. This word *Bulāk*, is Turkish and means (1) a camel's nose-string and (2) a woman's nose-ornament. This will support the theory of the Indian nose-ring being a Moslem importation.

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the March number of the *Folk-Lore* (1923), is published the Presidential Address of Mr. Henry Balfour on "The Welfare of Primitive Peoples," delivered at the last annual meeting of the Folk-Lore Society of London. In this address, in referring to the Nagas of the Naga Hills in Assam which he recently visited Mr. Balfour says that he noticed a marked difference between the Nagas of the western hills which are directly under British administration where the infiltration of elements from the Plains culture and the activities of missionaries have produced "comparative inertness" in the people, and in the eastern districts outside the "administered" area where their old-time culture and pursuits continue to persist practically unchecked. In the former area Mr. Balfour noted "marked evidence of a comparative lack of that virility, alertness and zest" which he had observed in the latter area. Mr. Balfour is of opinion that this comparative inertness and the partial atrophy of their old virility, alertness and zest "is certainly correlated with the loosening of the grip upon traditional customs and ritual," and is "mainly the outcome of change of habit consequent upon contact with alien peoples and alien cultures."

Among the Nagas, as among some Melanesians their intelligence have very largely been cent

the pursuit of head-hunting, "which have been a means not only of acquiring desirable trophies, but also of proving manhood and prowess, incidentally affecting their chances of matrimony and their social status in the community". Although mortality is undoubtedly higher in such communities than it would have been, had the practice never existed, yet this artificially augmented death-rate would be "more than counterbalanced by a higher birth-rate due to the vigour, alertness and greater physical and mental fitness which the exigencies arising from such a custom stimulate."

Although no civilized government can tolerate the persistence of this custom, and Mr. Balfour holds no brief for it, he merely points out that "so completely involved is it in the general culture complex of some native tribes, that its sudden eradication is liable seriously to affect the organization, cohesion, general outlook and the interest in life, and, indirectly, even the physical efficiency of the native," and that "sudden and drastic changes from the normal condition act deleteriously upon peoples of lowly culture, feeble receptivity and restricted powers of assimilation," and "hence, a *gradual* process (of change) is called for".

Mr. Balfour sounds a warning note to Governments and missionaries against interfering abruptly with the more essential vigorous growths which permeate and form the main support of their social structure. "To interfere abruptly with these is to court disaster and to risk inducing that dangerous state of apathetic listlessness which arises from loss of interest." "But, while the cutting down of a

vigorous and deep-rooted stem causes the death of the plant and all that depends upon its vitality, judicious pruning may be quite feasible, and, moreover, it should be possible to graft branches of a different nature and quality upon it, and to repeat that process, until the whole nature of the growth has changed without loss of vitality; cultivated roses gain in vigour for being budded upon the natural briar-stem, without losing their desirable qualities. So too, cultivated ideas are likely to flourish when grafted upon old-established indigenous stocks which have evolved in the particular environment. The native growth can thus be modified without being eradicated, and may be made to contribute more and more of its vigour to the grafts. At all stages during the progress of conversion and elevation of primitive peoples, it is desirable to offer to them a fair equivalent for what is taken away to provide them with substitutes which will not alienate their interest, but possibly stimulate it, while tending gradually to divert their thoughts in a new direction leading them towards the desired goal. The substituted practice should not be too markedly antagonistic to the existing one." Those Governments and administrations in India and elsewhere who have to deal with peoples of the lower culture should do well to act upon the following advice of Mr. Balfour:—"If we aim at equitable administration of subject races, the chief essential is close investigation of their indigenous culture; and it is to be hoped that Governments will in every way encourage the study of general an

polology and local ethnography, particularly among those who undertake the responsibilities of control and organization of alien and backward peoples."

In the July—Dec. (1922) number of the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Mr. J. H. Hutton, C. I. E., in an article on *The Meaning and Method of the Erection of Monoliths by Naga Tribes*, gives an illustrated account of the method of erecting monoliths as witnessed by himself in December 1921, during the *Terhengi* of Kotuma village. The *terhengi genna* celebrates the successful harvesting of rice crop. It is during the performance of this genna that the *Kechiesü* ceremony of the Angami Nagas and the *lisü* ceremony which must precede it are both celebrated. The former, Mr. Hutton gives reasons to hold, is a "translation into stone of the effect previously sought by means of wooden symbols." Only the more well-to-do can perform the more expensive ceremony of the *Kechiesü* (of which the erection of monoliths is the sole object and principal incident) 'which places the performers in a social position beyond which the majority cannot aspire', whereas the Angami of humbler means must remain content with the *lisü* ceremony with wooden posts. The stones set up at the *Kechiesü*, Mr. Hutton further holds, must be regarded as phallic symbols, like the wooden posts of the *lisü*, though the difficulty presented by the material has prohibited the nature of the symbols from being shown by carving, with the result that the Angami himself has forgotten what the stones

actually represent. "Two other considerations in favour of the phallic origin of the Naga monoliths are suggested, viz., (1) that the Angamis of Kohima at any rate, erect these monoliths in pairs, and some other branches of the Naga people such as the Kacha Nagas (Nzemi) regard it as tabu to erect a monolith without a companion; and (2) the Konyak Naga practice of setting up an erect stone in the middle of the stone platform in front of the "morung" on which the heads of enemies are exposed after a successful raid, and which "perhaps indicates an association between erection of stones and the enhancement of fertility." It is however pointed out that the fact that Naga monoliths, like those of the Khasis, are used as memorials of the dead, may be taken to qualify the view that "Naga monoliths are phallic symbols intended to promote fertility on the principles of sympathetic magic." Mr. Hutton suggests two possible alternative explanations of these monoliths, viz., either (1) that the erect stone is merely a translation into stone of the wooden statue set up in memory of the deceased by many Naga villages which do not set up memorial stones;" or (2) that "the erect stone has first come to be regarded as the memorial to a feast, the original meaning being forgotten, and thence a suitable memorial to a giver of feasts." Of these two explanations the former is regarded as the more likely, although it is suggested that "there is perhaps no reason why those two ideas should not have been combined."

In the January (1923) number of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore), Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao continues his paper on *Mysore Castes and Tribes* and describes customs relating to marriage, adoption, inheritance and caste government, funeral ceremonies, and a few unusual or quaint customs such as the couvade.

In the same number of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Mr. S. T. Moses, contributes a very interesting paper on *Fish and Religion in South India* in which he draws attention to the "enormous sanctity attached to fishes" in South India where, curiously enough, most castes are "notorious fish-eaters." Though in South Indian temples it is rare to find the presiding deity represented as having the shape of a fish, the figures of a fish may be seen on the walls and pillars of not a few of them, and many temples have as their adjuncts ponds and rivers for sacred fish which are fed by pilgrims and held in veneration. "At Nerenika in Bellary District is a temple dedicated to Malleswara near which is a cave where a crude carving of a rock into something like a caricature of a fish is worshipped." "There is a widespread belief in Sringeri that skin-diseases can be cured by propitiating the fish of this place." "Another cause of veneration for fish is the popular belief of the souls of the dead, especially gluttons, finding repose in transmigrating into fish. In Malabar and Travancore this belief appears to be wide-spread."

The Tirumalpad (or Raja) of Nilambar in Malabar has in the pool below his house sacred fish which have reached huge dimensions. Also the Madagole Zamindars of Vizagapatam have huge *Mahseer* in their Matsyagundam. Their superstitious fears lest any be killed are great and are akin to the belief of "the heir of Clifton of Clifton in Nottinghamshire dying if a sturgeon is caught in the Trent near Clifton". "The Gonds are so obsessed by the belief that the souls of the dead find a habitation in fish that, after burial, they go to the river, cry out the name of the dead man and catch a fish which they fully believe is the mortal vehicle of that soul. The curious part of the custom is that the fish is made a meal of in the belief that the deceased will be born again in the family'.

Fishermen in South India make offerings of Pongal periodically to propitiate them so that they may meet with no harm while fishing in the sea. "Even the Muhammadan fishermen and divers employed in the chank and pearl fisheries of the South try to propitiate the sharks".

As the fish is a very prolific animal, it is ordinarily taken as an emblem of fertility, and the Holeyas of Canara lead the newly wedded couple to a river where they put in the wedding mat woven by the bride and catch some fish which the couple let go after kissing. In some cases one fish is taken home and its scales adorn the forehead of the couple and they believe this ensures fertility.

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In the same number of the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Mr. S. C. Mitra contributes a further *Note on the Custom of offering Human Sacrifices to Water spirits*. As evidence of an old Eastern Bengal custom of offering human sacrifices to water-spirits for the purpose of coaxing them into filling newly excavated tanks. The writer describes the ceremonial worship in the Dacca district of a village goddess named Sangat Rani and the legend recited after the conclusion of the worship.

In the April (1823) number of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Mr. S. C. Mitra relates a Bird-myth from the District of Sylhet in Eastern Bengal, and compares it with certain Malay folk-tales and an Assam (Eastern) tale in each of which, as in the Sylhet story, a female human being is represented as having been transformed into a bird. Reference is also made to similar legends in ancient Greece (Halcyone, Philomela) and the myths of the 'swan-maiden' type in various parts of modern Europe, Asia and Africa.

In the same number of the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Mr. T. V. Sheshagiri Iyer, in a short note on *The Deva Dasis of India*, seeks to trace the origin of this institution of temple girls with the aid of ancient Samskrit literature. And he suggests that their origin may be traced to

the *apsarās* whom Mr. Sheshagiri Iyer is inclined to identify with foreign damsels of a fair race who were brought from across the seas by the ancient Hindus in their earliest maritime expeditions on a large scale. The Pauranic myth of the churning of the ocean out of which the *Apsaras* are said to have come out suggests this interpretation to the writer. His idea is that when the ancients, —the caste ridden 'Devas and Asuras,'—found that these women were unacceptable as wives owing to their alien origin, and that, as such they would be a danger to society by their being allowed to roam at will, "they believed that a check upon their unfettered life might be devised by asking them to attach themselves to a religious institution," so that by their continued presence in temples, where good men and women congregate, these unfortunate women might be reformed. But instead of being themselves reformed in this way, these *Apsara* Deva-Dasis "dragged down others with them". "The cult attracted others and their diminishing ranks were replenished with home recruits."

In the same number of the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Mr. L. A. Camiade, contributes a short note on *Human Sacrifices to Water Spirits*. In this note Mr. Camiade begins with extracts from the account of two Portuguese travellers (Fernando Nuniz and Domingo Paes) who both visited Vijayanagar in the 16th century and described how the excavation of a tank or lake t

being constructed by the Raja was being constantly thwarted by the idol (originally perhaps a water-spirit) until it had been propitiated by human sacrifices. He notes that such a belief is widely prevalent throughout the Madras Presidency, and cites three instances where it has interfered with the construction of bridges, one at Amba Samudram in the Tinnevely District, a second at Rajahimandry in the Godavari District, and a third in connection with the Wellington Bridge at Madras.

Such human sacrifices, it is pointed out, "are considered necessary merely because of the magnitude of the trespass that was being committed in the domains of the water-spirit". "For lesser trespasses, the spirit, like others of its class, will, with great reasonableness, accept lesser sacrifices". Thus, in Madras when a well is being dug, only a cock is sacrificed, and that only after water level has been reached.

In *The Hindustan Review* (Calcutta) for January 1923, Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra has contributed a paper on "*The Cult of Dakshina Rāya in Southern Bengal*". As the result of his study of this cult, he has arrived at the following conclusions:—

That the godling Dakshina Rāya is one of the village-deities of Southern Bengal—one of the deities that represent the animistic substratum of Hinduism—will appear from the following facts:—

(a) He has no temple or shrine. He is usually worshipped in an open space in the outskirts of the village.

(b) Before the Paurānik Renaissance, his worship must have been conducted by a non-Brāhman priest. But, when, after the Paurānik Revival, he was absorbed within the pale of orthodox Hindu theogeny, and a Paurānik legend was invented by the Brāhmans to account for his origin, a Brāhman priest began to conduct his worship.

(c) The fact that ducks are sacrificed to this godling shows the non-Aryan origin of this cult, for these birds, or for the matter of that, any other species of domesticated poultry, are never offered, by way of sacrifice, to any deity of the orthodox Hindu Pantheon.

(d) The name of this godling is not mentioned either in the Vedass or the Purānas.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

The Golden Bough. A STUDY IN MAGIC AND RELIGION. By Sir James G. Frazer, M. A., D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D., F. B. A., F. R. S. Abridged Edition. (*London* : MacMillan & Co. Ltd, 1922). pp. XIV+756. Price 18s. net.

There is, we believe, no serious student of Anthropology who has not made his acquaintance with that great classic of the world's anthropological literature—the *Golden Bough*. And in a journal primarily meant for students of Anthropology it would be superfluous, even if it were possible within the limits of such a review, to give a summarised account of the contents or expatiate on the merits of what is rightly regarded as one of the great books of our times. The illustrious author and the enthusiastic publishers of that monumental work have indeed conferred an inestimable boon on the general reader and the poor student by bringing out the present one-volume edition of the work at a moderate price.

If there be any beginner in the study of the science who has been so unfortunate as not to have yet had an opportunity of studying the original work owing to its inaccessibility, he should lose no time in procuring a copy of the present cheap and abridged edition at any rate, and mastering its contents. And those who have carefully studied the original volumes as they deserve to be studied, but cannot afford to provide them-

selves with sets of their own, should only be too glad to avail themselves of this splendid opportunity of securing copies of their own of this abridged edition at any rate. Even those who possess copies of the larger edition in twelve volumes will find the present one-volume edition to be of special interest in that by reason of its succinctness, it facilitates a clear appreciation of the unity of conception that runs through all the volumes of the original work, through all that vast multitude of most interesting legends, customs, institutions and beliefs which the author traverses in explaining the remarkable ritual connected with the succession to the ancient priesthood of Diana at Aricia.

As the reader follows the author with absorbing interest in his fascinating recital and critical analysis and interpretation of the vast mass of customs, institutions and beliefs regarding priestly or divine kings and incarnate human gods, departmental kings of nature, spirits of vegetation, the influence of sexes on vegetation, tree-spirits and tree-worship, nature and perils of the soul, taboos of various kinds, the corn-spirit and other ancient deities of vegetation represented as animals, the sacrament of first fruits, the propitiation of wild animals by hunters, the killing of the Divine Animal, types of animal sacrament, the magical transference of ills to inanimate objects and to animals and men, the periodical public burning of effigies and of human beings and animals in the fire, and the doctrine of the external soul as met with in folk-tales and folk-custom,—he feels he has gained a vivid insight into primitive modes of thought and behaviour

such as perhaps he never had before. The compendious form of the present edition is indeed a great aid to the beginner in appreciating Frazer's monumental *Study in Magic and Religion*. As an introduction to the larger edition in twelve volumes the beginner will find the present abridged edition of invaluable assistance, though of course the former is indispensable to the serious student both for purposes of study and reference.

All the main doctrines and reasonings of the larger work are, however, retained in this edition generally in their original language ; and of the overwhelming mass of interesting customs and usages, legends and myths collected in the original work from all corners of the earth to illustrate the arguments of the author, a sufficiently large number is reproduced in the present abridged edition.

No praise is too high for the masterly skill and patient care with which the admirable work of condensation has been effected without any prejudice to the lucidity of argument and charm of style of the original work.

Apart from the great theoretical interest of the work, every field-worker finds in it an invaluable guide, friend and philosopher, an unfailing source of suggestion, guidance and inspiration in his researches among people of the lower culture. And the present handy edition will no doubt form a most valued companion of the field-worker in his camp.

In its general get-up the book is uniform with the volumes of the larger edition and leaves nothing to be desired.

The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead. VOL. II., THE BELIEF AMONG THE POLYNESIANS. (*London: MacMillan & Co., 1922*) pp. IX+447. Price 18s. net.

This is the second volume of the illustrious author's study of the belief in immortality and worship of the dead among different races of mankind. In the first volume, the author gave us an exhaustive study and masterly analysis of such belief and practice among the aborigines of Australia, the Torres Straits Islands, New Guinea and Melanesia. In the present volume, he has given us a similar account and analysis of the corresponding belief and practice among the Polynesians; and in a third volume the author proposes to treat of the belief in immortality and the worship of the dead among the Micronesians and Indonesians.

As a generalised account of the belief and practice among all the different branches of the Polynesian race would necessarily be somewhat meagre, inexact in detail and liable to many variations and exceptions, the author has appropriately chosen to deal separately with the belief and practice of each group of Islanders—namely, the Maoris of New Zealand, the Tongans of the Tongan or Friendly Islands, the Samoans of the Samoan or Navigators Islands, the Society Islanders, the Marquesans, and the Hawaiians of the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands. And his masterly exposition of the beliefs and practices of each separate group of Islanders is, like Sir James Frazer's other productions, a most valuable contribution to the anthropological literature of the world.

In order to present his account in its proper setting, the author begins with a brief account of the special characteristics of the people and the geographical, economic and social environment in which the beliefs and practices of each group of Islanders dealt with in the book have been developed. He next proceeds to ascertain and discuss the conceptions they had been led to form of man's spiritual nature and his relations to higher powers, their beliefs concerning the souls of the living and the souls of the dead, the spirit-world and life in it, and the other beliefs and practices (such as taboos, certain forms of salutations, ceremonies to facilitate the passage of the soul to the other world, origin of diseases, veneration of the lizard, deification of ancestors, belief in dreams, etc.) which arose out of such belief. As among other tribes on a similar level of culture, the Polynesians are neither clear nor consistent in their beliefs regarding these matters.

Among these people, as our author finds, the mystery of life in man is explained by 'the presence of an invisible spirit or soul, which animates his body during life and quits it at death to survive the separation for a longer or shorter time either in this world or another'. As to the precise nature of the human soul, all the peoples in question generally agree in identifying it more or less closely with one or both of two perceptible objects—namely, his breath or his shadow and reflection, and in believing the soul to be free to quit the body at its pleasure or under compulsion and to return to it without prejudice to the life and health of

its owner. The soul, it is believed, is not constitutionally immortal, but is liable to be cut short or even exterminated by the magic art of some witch or wizard.

As I have said there are variations in details only in the beliefs and practices among the different groups and the different districts of the same group of Islanders. Thus, the common belief among the Maoris, for example, seems to have been that the souls of the dead pass away to a region of the underworld, but beliefs in the soul's journey upward or heavenward, or across the sea, or neither up nor down but staying near their mouldering bodies are also variously entertained in different districts. But whatever be the differences in the details of the belief, Polynesians all agree in believing the soul to be able to quit its abode from time to time and return to earth, there to influence the actions and fortunes of the living and to communicate with them. Such ghosts could also be summoned up by priests or priestesses to give information as to the cause or issue of an illness and wizards could hold conversation with such spirits. In such beliefs and customs, according to our author, "are contained as in germ the whole theory and practice of the worship of the dead". The belief in the existence of the spirits of the dead and in their power to help or harm the living, lead these Islanders to worship them.

As for 'taboo', the particular superstition which, according to Sir James Frazer, lies at the root of the customs connected with it, and "has inci-

mentally exercised a beneficent influence by inspiring a respect for law and morality appears to be a belief in the existence of ghosts and their power to affect the fortunes of the living for good or evil." Thus the Maoris have a firm belief that any non-observance of taboo "would surely and speedily be punished by an *atua* or ghost, who would afflict the sinner with a painful malady till he died. Though originally a religious institution the taboo or *tapu* seems to have been turned to political and economical account by the chiefs and priests acting in concert in the Marquessas Island. It also "came to serve a useful purpose by ensuring a respect for private property, which is a fundamental condition of social prosperity."

Our author's exhaustive account of the belief in the immortality of the soul and worship of the dead among the Polynesians shows, among other things, that many of the Polynesian deities are only deified men, and it is not improbable that the theory of transmigration of souls may have formed a factor in the cult of some non-human deities as well. Some of the worshipful sharks of the Hawaiians, at any rate, were supposed to be animated by the souls of the dead, and it is not unlikely (though no evidence in yet forthcoming) that the worship of other sacred animals among the Polynesians (barring of course such groups as the Tongans and the Samoans) may be associated with a theory of transmigration.

It is not possible in the short space at our disposal to give anything but a most inadequate glimpse into the wealth of interesting material

presented in the book with the consummate art and attractive style which we have learnt to associate with the name of Sir James Frazer. This profoundly interesting and stimulating volume should form an invaluable and indispensable addition to the book-shelf of every student of anthropology.

The Racial History of Man. BY ROLAND B. DIXON, PH. D. (*Charles Scribner's Sons. New York and London, 1923*). Price 6 \$.

The volume before us is an original, comprehensive and highly interesting and creditable attempt at a solution of the racial problem of the world, by the application of a novel method of analysis of types to all available data. In the Introduction, Prof. Dixon explains his method. He has singled out three main criteria of race—the cephalic index, the altitudinal index and the nasal index,—as being easy of application, and also having a certain degree of certainty, and applies them to known anthropological data of the whole world; and on the basis of this standard, has attempted a new analysis of the people of the world into their constituent racial elements.

Out of the twenty-seven combinations of these three factors the author has chosen eight main combinations as characteristic of what he regards as the eight "fundamental" types, and the rest of the combinations as "blends" of the eight main types.

The author's analysis on this basis has several distinct advantages. It is applicable to any series of living or crainal measurements, and this simplification of criteria, enables us to take a wide and comprehensive view of the racial history of man. It enables us to determine approximately the actual composition of a particular series in terms of the units chosen, and to discount variations and uniformities in the series.

The intermediate groups, according to our author, have arisen from the blending of two extreme forms, in so far as nose-form and head-form are concerned, as these are apparently not subject to the Mendelian laws of inheritance, according to which the offspring of contrasted forms reproduce the parental type.

The author, in choosing his eight "fundamental" types, does not imply that they are actual "races." They are only clear-cut units adopted for a clear analysis in terms of those units. "They are theoretical forms, deducible from the existing varieties of men,—they are parent forms—which do not exist, but which at one time, must have existed. They are 'archetypes', fundamental patterns, more or less perfectly evolved in the process of development of the human species, having had a definite origin both in time and space. And by the fusion of these archetypes modified by environment, the existing actual races, which might be called 'stable blends' have been derived."

The eight primary types are named as follows :—

1. The Proto Australoid ;
2. The Proto Negroid ;
3. The Caspian ;
4. The Mediterranean ;
5. The

Mongoloid ; 6. The Palae Alpine ; 7. The Ural ; 8. The Alpine.

The first four are dolichocephals, and the last four are Brachycephals. The first two are the oldest and had a tropical origin ; the third and fourth had a Eurasiatic origin and the last three had an Asiatic origin. The chief tendencies and characteristics of each type are analysed and their ascertainable homelands traced, and their movements and distribution are followed in the light of historic and prehistoric records and anthropological data, in a truly scientific manner.

The arrangement of the subject-matter is excellent. The racial history of each continent is outlined in introductory chapters and is followed by a detailed discussion with regard to the various natural and political subdivisions.

In the last chapter, the author sums up the whole racial history of mankind, and gives some general conclusions.

Some of these conclusions are noted below :—

(1) The Proto-Australoid and Proto Negroid types of tropical regions are smaller-brained and less-dowered types : their fusion has produced feeble culture and they have been losers from the very beginning in the great struggle for existence.

(2) From the Palae-Alpine and Mongoloid larger-brained types have come greater achievements and from those of the Alpine and Mediterranean types, whose brains in size surpass all the rest, have grown the greatest of them all.

(3) The racial history of man is a history of a long struggle in which gradually the better-dowered forms rose to dominance.

(4) A blend of the Caspian and Mediterranean types resulted in the formation of people of great capabilities who are responsible for all the great civilisations of the world and "there is reason to believe that only where the Caspian, the Mediterranean and the Alpine types have met and mingled have the highest achievements been achieved."

(5) The Caspian and the Mediterranean types have in most cases expanded rapidly, by invasion and conquests. "The Alpines, on the other hand, appear to have advanced, more slowly, more insidiously, with the certainty of a glacier, and latest to reach most portions of the world"; and they have gradually brachy-cephalised almost the whole of Europe and Asia.

(6) The colonisation of America is an event of great significance in the history of mankind. Never before have the Alpine, Caspian and the Mediterranean folk been mingled upon such a gigantic scale : and in this, there is a prospect of a still nobler growth of all that makes for the best in man : and the dangers to a harmonious and proper fusion of these three types should be averted by (i) restricting immigration of other types and by (ii) conscious selection of the best ingredients for improving the quality of the alloy.

In this connection, it may not be out of place to mention what the author says about the caste system in India, in connection with the

racial constitution of the Indian population, and the effects of invasions on the same:

"The earlier conquests seem to have involved more actual colonisation and transference of peoples than the later," and the Indo-Scythian or the Mogul (Mongol) invasion of India had very little effect on the racial composition of Indian peoples. This our author is inclined to think was due to the institution of the caste system. He remarks:—"The analysis of the data on the lines here followed makes it very clear, it seems to me, that caste groups do differ from each other racially and that the social status of the caste usually bears a direct relation to the racial composition of its members." (P. 269)

(7) Upheaval of the darker folk derived from the Proto-Australoid and Proto Negroid types can only end in failures;—and these have gone to the background for ever.

(8) Upheaval of the Asiatic Alpines and Palae-Alpines, may be possible, and it might be "the most terrible struggle for supremacy."

(9) The "Nordic" race—a blend of Caspian and Mediterranean types with the older Palaeolithic folk—which for six centuries supplied swarm after swarm of raiders, conquerors, and colonists,—is, "gradually passing from the stage." It is doomed to be absorbed in the wider complex which has been forming ever since the Alpines made their appearance in Europe. It is passing, just as the purer Mediterranean people and for long has been passing, in the sense of sinking into the greater social entity

which has been so long in the process of growth and in which the Alpine type seem destined to play perhaps the leading part."

(10) Up to the time of the discovery of America the peoples primarily of Alpine type (though often blended with a considerable Palae-Alpine factor) seem on the whole to have won. They dominated a large part of Europe and Asia and the two Americas.

With the discovery of America, the Caspian-Mediterranean types seized this new territory. Since the 19th century, the Alpine people have been flooding America. And "as ages before, in Europe, the Mediterraneans and Caspians were first in the field, so here again, history seems to repeat itself, and the age-long struggle waged in Europe between the two contending forces bids fair to be transplanted to a wider stage."

(10) The struggle of these two groups, the Mediterranean and Caspian, and the Alpine and Palae-Alpines is not a conscious one: it is masked and hidden under many disguises. In the Great War of 1914—the two gigantic adversaries "loom dimly behind the scenes."

(11) Man's racial history is "one wherein he has passed from an early condition of relative heterogeneity, through a long period of struggle in which gradually the better-dowered forms rose to dominance, to the present in which the less able peoples have been practically exterminated by those who have risen to the top, and in which the world's population has become more homoge-

neous through this very elimination and through the long amalgamation of the originally discrete types."

This history is, in final analysis, that of struggle for dominance among the descendants of differently dowered types together with their gradual blending into an ever more homogeneous form. The more primitive races must tend to pass away and merge into the complex of their victors and among these amalgamations and absorptions must continue to reduce more and more the remnants of the original types, until, in the end, out of many types, through a multitude of races, may come one race, which will be the consummation of them all." (p 523).

We cannot too highly recommend the book to all students of Anthropology.

The Sea Gypsies Of Malaya. *By Walter Grainge White, F. R. G. S., with a Foreword by R. R. Marett, M. A., D. Sc. (London : Seeley, Service & Co., Limited, 1922) pp. 318. Price 21 S. nett.*

This book gives us an interesting account of the Mawken, Selungs or Sea Gypsies of the Mergui Archipelago, a group of about 400 islands and islets off the eastern coast of Burma. This interesting people are known to their neighbours the Burmese and the Talaings as the 'Selungs', the name under which they have been so long known to anthropologists, but the name the people apply to themselves is the 'Mawken', literally 'the Sea-

drowned'. The delightful and sympathetic account given in this book of the roving life of these boat-dwellers, their social habits and customs, boats, occupations, and other cultural features, is much fuller than any hitherto published.

The author is one of the very few, if not perhaps the only, European who has a thorough knowledge of the Mawken language. As a missionary with a sympathetic interest in the people and their customs and further as the Honorary Census Officer for the people in 1893, he had special opportunities of coming in close contact with them.

As our present knowledge of this people is extremely scanty, we give below a summary of the account supplied by Mr. WHITE.

The Mawken (hitherto more generally known as the Selungs) are the remnant of a people formerly inhabiting the mainland of Burma. Pushed out by more civilized people from their old home they formed a "last trench" among the islands of the Mergui archipelago. Here they usually move about in fleets of *kabang* or boats. These fleets vary from ten to forty *kabang*. Most of the people live all the year

Occupation, round in their *kabang*; only a few
Habits etc. have huts which they use as a
haven of refuge upon occasion, and

some others have huts which they use as their base, from which they make frequent and extended tours in their *kabang*. All of them spend the north-east monsoon afloat. Most of them do not come near the mainland at all but depend upon those who visit the ports for their supplies. The

Sea Gypsies regard all other peoples with fear, for 'they have suffered at the hands of all'.

The Mawken's dirty habits of life is a contrast to their habitat, which lies among green forests with sands of drizzling white or golden hues set in the midst of the deep blue sea. Physically, they are a race of short people (from 5'4" to 5'5" in height) with a rich brown skin, brown-black eyes, straight jet-black hair, scanty beard, but generally 'high' forehead, and 'strong' chin. The average longevity of the Mawken men as well as women is estimated by the author at between 50 and 60 years. They are by no means a dying race. Their probable number is estimated by our author at nothing under 5,000.

Their staple food is rice which they obtain by barter, and fish which they spear. They are splendid divers. When they dive for oysters or green snails they go down without any diving suits like the Filipinos. Their dress consists only of 'rags and tags'. Some of the Mawken keep pariahs which they train to hunt wild pig or deer on the larger islands. Thanks to Chinese traders, many Mawkens have become hopelessly addicted to opium. To add to their miseries, Chinese and Malay traders drive hard bargains with these simple folk. Sometimes a Chinese or a Malay marries a Mawken woman, and then he manages to secure the labour of the entire male portion of the crews; and the Mawken is not altogether averse to his domination, as it secures for them immunity from the depredations of other Malays or Chinese. The Mawken's ignorance of market value, we are told, 'has been his undoing'

The plaiting of mats from palm-leaves, which forms the only indispensable furniture of the Mawken, is the work of their female folk. Other occupations of Mawken women besides cooking, drawing water, etc., are the sun-drying of food, (such as fish, paw-paw, bananas, 'lady's fingers') and the making of pottery, but the latter art is now becoming extinct. Boat-building, hunting, securing food and clothing by barter, the making of bamboo receptacles for water, the making of cordage, lanyards and cables with grasses or the inner bark of certain trees, the making of and playing upon musical instruments such as the drum, wooden clappers and flutes, the fashioning of wooden spears or harpoons, are among the occupations of the men. Rubber-growing and coco nut cultivation have been begun in a small way upon some of the islands. As the sand-fly and the leech are pests to their bodies, so wild pig and monkeys are pests to their plantations.

It is interesting to note that the Mawken do not make or use any intoxicating beverages or even such stimulants as tea, coffee or cocoa. Their dress is of the scantiest, consisting generally of a loin-cloth. Mr. White has been informed that some wear no clothing whatever. They do not anoint the head or the body with oils, nor use the face-paint used by their Burmese neighbours.

Mawken women carry their children in a sling or on the left side, suspended from the right shoulder or astride the back. The latter method is customary among the men. Both men and women are fond of children.

As with most people, much of Mawken children's games consists of learning to use the things which their elders employ in the routine of daily life.

Mawken youth and maidens, we are told, 'grow up with a nice modesty and an entire absence of that dangerous curiosity which comes of being in a blameworthy ignorance'.

They have no elaborate marriage ceremony.

The attraction between a young

Mawken man and a maiden is at once

Marriage. noticed by their people and it is

contrived to bring them together

as much as possible, and when it is time to bring matters to a definite conclusion, 'joiners' are sent by the young man to the *Kabang* of the young woman, and the matter is talked over with the girl and her parents. If the answer is favourable, the young man comes in person to fetch away his bride. If circumstances allow, a marriage feast is given. Then the wife goes to the *Kabang* of her husband; she will live with his people until he strikes out for himself by fashioning a *Kabang*. This step may not be taken for years, or it may follow close upon the birth of the first child. The Mawken are remarkable for their fecundity. Puberty ordeals, so common among 'primitive' people, are unknown.

The Mawken regard physical intercourse *per se* as marriage. Although a first marriage may be dissolved by either party taking another partner, such a course of action is considered reprehensible, and monogamy is the general practice.

As regards kindred and affinities, it is interesting to note that cousins—
 Relationship even first cousins—are not regarded
 Terms as of the family, and the cousin is referred to as *ja* (friend). The word for wife is *binai* (woman) and for husband *kanai* (man); and thus 'the mere fact of coupling any man with any woman indicates the relationship of husband.'

In their relationship, primogeniture is carefully marked, the Mawken being very careful to distinguish between the *elder* and *younger* brother and their respective wives, the husband of an elder and that of a younger sister, and so forth, though their present mode of living would seem to carry with it no advantage whatever for either the elder or younger in the relationship. Whereas a single term is used for the elder, diverse terms are used for the younger in the relationship. Nephews (*Kawman Kanai*) and nieces (*Kawman banai*) are not however distinguished as children of elder or younger brother or sisters. In the words for uncle and aunt as well as father-in-law and mother-in-law, the 'h' in the middle of the term is changed into 'k'.

As for their language, we are told that it is 'ideogrammic'. The verbs have no conjugation and the nouns have no inflexions.

Language. Nor can the pronoun be declined. The arrangement of words in sentences decide their meaning; but that general rule is always subject to the nice laws of enphony. It is not a tonal language, like Chinese or Japanese or Burmese.

As may be expected, Mawken science and art is of the most elementary kind. The Mawken have no writing and consequently no literature. As for their notion of time, the years are roughly marked by the seasons. The author could find among them no division of weeks, but only days and moons.

The Mawken have names for several ailments and symptoms which are generally indicated by the real or supposed affected part. They have lost all knowledge, if they had any, of medicinal barks. Surgery is entirely unknown. Skin-diseases are common owing to malnutrition and the insanitary conditions of the *kabang*. Cholera and small-pox are supposed to be an evil influence, and safety is supposed to be in flight from the place of first occurrence. Fever is attributed to an evil influence inhabiting the body.

Naturally there has sprung among the Mawken, as among other peoples of low culture, a class of magicians or medicine-men who are credited with the power of curing diseases. This class among the Mawken is known as the *Micha-blen*. The *Micha-blen* takes a palm-leaf fan or a bunch of leaves and vigorously fans the patient and from time to time throws some parched rice from a tray across the patient's body and goes on repeating incantations. At last the *Micha-blen*, on the supposition that the aid of the unseen powers invoked has been forthcoming, bends over the body. places his mouth to the patient's

chest, sucks vigorously at the skin and violently expectorates. Thus is the evil influence sucked out and spat to the winds, and the patient should now get well. Some such cures were effected in the author's presence by hypnotic suggestion as our author believes. Mr. White says, "I can assert only that the wizard meets a need, is, in fact, the subject of curious psychological states, believes in himself, and considers it fatal to his work to allow even the slightest suspicion of a lack of self-confidence or impotence upon any occasion, and makes his appeal to the imagination and the will". (p. 223) "Wizards among primitive races", we are told, "have a partial and implicit knowledge of certain psychical processes which we are now beginning to investigate scientifically, and to make of them subjects of explicit knowledge". In chapter XXV, we have an interesting account of the 'bag of tricks' of the Mawken magician and his method of work 'which illustrates the potency of suggestion when there is unshaken belief in the magician's power to invoke the aid of the powers of evil.

The Mawken believe in good and bad spirits—*katoi*—whom they do not worship but propitiate.

In the *Micha-blen* incantations we Mawken Religion, have the name of the chief of the spirits who can help. Although they acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being to whom they apply the name Thida, adopted from the Siamese, the Mawken do not seek to worship Him. They have the idea that Thida is a good spirit, and being good He will not hurt them.

Certain wooden posts about 5 feet high and 7 inches wide and between 3 and 4 inches in thickness are put up at certain places to indicate that the place is the abode of a kindly-disposed power, under the protection of which the Mawken may plant their pine-apples, bananas and ochroes and rest in their houses when not roving as Gypsies. These posts are called *Katoi-kae*, a name which Mr. White translates as 'devil-posts'.

The Mawken believe in the persistence of life after death; and death is regarded by them as the gate to a different kind of life. The body is regarded as the dwelling of the true self which escapes it at death. Instead of asking a stranger

"What is your name", a Mawken will ask him, 'What is the name of your body'. While the Mawken dread diseases, they do not fear death. They believe that the spirit of the dead in many cases become an agent of hurt and evil when once it and the body have dissolved partnership, even though the spirit is that of one who has been very loving and much beloved in this life. The Mawken, with few exceptions, practice burial and have generally abandoned their former practice of placing corpses on barbacues. Slabs of wood, standing like steles, mark the graves of the departed.

A rude untutored people like the Mawken are still "virgin soil for new notions". "The present stream of influence are the Buddhist and the Mohammadan".

In the last chapter (XXVII), the author gives us his ideas about the 'Future Possibilities' of the

Mawken. During his census-taking of this people, Mr. White found that they were gradually adopting the dress, speech, and customs of their more advanced Burman neighbours. Even intermarrying with the Burmese, Chinese and Malays has already begun. And it is reasonably apprehended that unless the Mawken are definitely helped by Government "to develop on their own lines and afforded effective protection from oppressive conditions of life and work, they will be assimilated by the Chinese and Burmese in the north, and by the Malays in the south".

The sudden application of the penal system and marriage laws of their British rulers would have a disastrous effect on the Mawken. And our author thinks that unless the extinction of this people and their absorption by the more dominant races, is considered desirable, the British Government should adopt definite measures "in accord with the principles of evolution, and the sympathetic understanding of a primitive people which has resulted from the science of Anthropology", to help them to develop on their own line. Such an experiment and development, our author reasonably believes, will convert the Mergui Archipelago into one of the beauty spots of the East, planted with flourishing settlements laid out with a proper attention to æsthetics.

Such, in outline, is the ethnographical account of the Sea Gypsies of the Margui Archipelago as contained in the book. Valuable and interesting as this account is, its value and interest for the scientific student might be still further enhanced

by fuller details of the social organisation, customs and institutions of the tribe, and a condensation and perhaps partial curtailment of what the student may regard as extraneous observations.

As it is, however, the book before us is the best and fullest account that we so far possess of a most interesting people, studied and delineated in a most sympathetic spirit. And, as Dr. Marett in his stimulating 'Foreword' very truly says, the book is "thoroughly anthropological in spirit, because all anthropology whether pure or applied has its root in human sympathy". No reader of the book can fail to be impressed by the fact that sympathy for these younger brethren of humanity is the predominating note in this book. We heartily recommend the book not only to every student of anthropology but to the general reader,—to every educated man who takes an interest in his fellow-men.

The illustrations are very good and the map very useful, and the general get-up of the book is excellent.

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LECTURES ON THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF ANCIENT INDIA.

BY

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I. A COMPARATIVE ANTHROPOMETRY OF 144 PUNJABIS.

By

DR. EGON VON EICKSTEDT.

The territory which for administrative purposes bears the names of the Punjab and the North-west Frontier Province is bounded in geo-morphological respect on the north by the snow-clad slopes of the Himalayas, on the south by the arid steppes of the Thar, on the east by the low but historically memorable watershed of the Sutlej and the Jumna and on the west by the decline of the Sulaiman and Hindukush mountains. In the year 1916, I had the opportunity of examining anthropometrically 144 individuals belonging to this tract. In point of origin they were distributed throughout the whole of the eastern and north-eastern Punjab and in general belonged to the healthy country population. A great advantage attaches to the latter circumstance; the multitudinous racial mixtures and phenomena of degeneracy, the influences of divergent environment ("milieu") and occupations which blur the racial picture in towns do not come into question here, 131

25 somatoseq

case of each individual and 42 face and body measurements were made. Most of these, together with a large number of other indices, are embodied for the natives of the eastern Punjab in my short monograph on the Sikh (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1920-21, pp. 317-394), and are, accordingly, accessible for all future work. The measurements of Muhammadans from the western Punjab are appended to the above paper and admit the calculation of the indices at any time. The technique employed is in exact harmony with the one laid down in Rudolf Martin's great work on Anthropology (according to the conferences of Monaco and Geneve) which now enjoys international recognition. For his kind help in the translation of this article, I have to thank cordially M. H. Ferrars, author of the well-known work on the Ethnology of Burma.

The material at our disposal exhibits two principal divisions, even in mere outward respects: the 76 Sikhs (Jat) in the east and the 68 Muhammadans in the west of the province. At first sight it might appear to the observer as if the Sikhs and Muhammadans were distinguished not by religion and domicile alone, but also wholly in point of race. But the measurements tell a different story. The ways in which clothing and hair are worn, possibly also the choice of food give rise to the illusion; the big top-knot and the coiled whiskers of the Sikh create quite a different impression from that of the Muhammadan with his half-long hair and mostly clean-shaven face. Nevertheless, a biologic distinction may be recog-

nized between the groups. The natives of the east have on the whole remained stationary in their homes for thousands of years, while the west in part only was settled with the introduction of more modern irrigation and the elements of this population in all times were shuffled by the first collision with hostile invaders from the west. It is better therefore to start our investigation in the eastern section, where it may be presumed that primary conditions will be easier to trace. We have to find answers to the following questions: do the subjects of our investigation form a homogeneous group or an entirely mixed one? If the latter, is the mixture due only to transient external conditions indicative of social layering or geographical variants? Or, again, is it a case of biologic mixture, individual features of which or even the partial process of which point to the nature of the parent races? Finally, do the racial elements we encounter help to establish relations with recent or historic anthropologic groups, and this, moreover, whether they represent relatively stable local or social varieties or types of a more or less fluctuating nature?

For the elucidation of the above question, the 76 East Panjabis are, to begin with, classified by the nasal index (No. 1 has the narrowest, No. 76 the broadest nose), and the somatological observations are arranged systematically.

Here indications already appear: The individuals with higher numbers, i. e. those with the broader noses, display the tendency to robuster proportions, their hands are often desc

"coarse". The occipital region of these same is often described as overhanging and the faces as short. Superciliary ridges are often noted. In the lower numbers, (the narrow-nosed) on the other hand, the converse is mostly the case, very frequently associated with wide ocular apertures and high nose-bridges. Finally, in a striking degree and so far inexplicably, the skin-tints noted by V. Lauschan's table display a lighter brown than for the long-faced with wide eyes.

A comparison of these observations with the work of other observers, namely Grey, Hagen and Risley, as well as the descriptions of Crooke, Cunningham, Denniker, Holdich, Ibbetson, Joyce, Lapicque, Macauliffe, Schmidt, Taylor, Ujfalvy and the Census publications offered nothing in explanation.

The working up of the figures had accordingly to be undertaken on the above lines. According to the greater frequency of a group of broad-nosed and of narrow-nosed individuals respectively the curve of the nasal indices displayed two main crests. But various further curves show (beside some subsidiary crests) two main crests, such for instance the curves for head-length, head-breadth, bizygomatic breadth, bigonial breadth, jugomandibular index, head and face indices, height of figures, shoulder and hip width, lengths of arms and legs, as well as relative trunk-length and most of the remaining indices of the body. Some of these curves are given in Fig. 1.

The principal question that arises at this point is: Are all these crests coincident, i. e. are the

same individuals answerable for the formation of one or other crest? The definite answer to the question would, beside its purely descriptive value likewise lead to a decision as to whether we are dealing with indiscriminate mixtures or whether definite variants are present in the population. We have already seen that a whole series of somatic observations upon face, nose and head-shape correspond to the two crests of the nasal curve. Thus it is not improbable that the remaining chief crests will conform to the two chief groups, at least in the majority of cases. This, however, would not yet furnish a key as to how the crest for a particular characteristic is to be connected with another feature, namely, whether the narrow-nosed are likewise the short-armed and not just the long-armed. Then there are all the potentialities of false crests to which Flinders Petrie has drawn attention. (Journ. Anthr. Inst. XXXVI, 221.)

I have endeavoured to investigate this question of the correspondence of the crests by help of somatic combination diagrams as in the established correlation diagrams pairs of characteristics are brought into relation by means of ordinates and co-ordinates. Here, however, the case lies differently, for which reason the terms combination-diagram and correlation-diagram must be kept distinct. Thus the "spurious correlation" (Pearson) does not concern us in the example given in Fig. 2, in which relative length of arm is brought into relation with relative breadth of shoulder (relative means always "in % of trunk-length, the index"), while the concentration of a variety of points, each of

which indicates an individual is of importance. Each of these concentrations fall under two crests and shows which apex is to be connected with another (cf Fig. 1, III-IV). The individuals of each concentration possess definite arm and shoulder proportions, typical for them, i. e. definite somatic or racial qualities. In the diagram given as example, long arms answer to broad shoulders and short arms to narrow shoulders. These concentrations may be summarized in the form of ellipses, dotted lines or arrows, which are only intended as an aid to the eye, and denote so to speak the "sphere of interest" of a certain somatic group (C. Fig. 8). There remain the cases at both extremes and a number at the side of the two chief groups. These latter are likewise distinguished by special somatic characteristics, but the scrutiny of several diagrams shows that their composition is more variable than that of the two principal groups. These type-groups, as I have denominated them, may represent mixture-groups, on the one hand between the two fundamental components of the population and on the other between these and neighbouring peoples. Of this more below. In my paper cited above, I have followed out the two main groups under the combinations, nasal index \times height of figure, and \times shoulder-width index, shoulder-width index \times arm-length index, arm-length index \times jugomandibular index and back over the latter to the nasal index, with the aid of the combination-diagrams, and employing the several curves proper to each. Not all the diagrams are so clear as that in Fig. 2, for there are many disturbing influences of intermixture.

Moreover, our material has been gained at haphazard. Scientific, biologic material however must be gathered systematically—a demand which unfortunately the anthropologist can only seldom fulfil. Broadly speaking, we obtained a degree of clearness about the two principal groups of the population, which will be yet further established by another application of this method of combination.

But how do things stand in respect of the *western* population? That section may exhibit obvious departures from the former type or the same combinations of characteristics that occur in the east may repeat themselves. Now that we possess some insight into the composition of the eastern section, a comparison may be attempted by means of the curves alone. Without a knowledge of at least one part of the material, this attempt would of course be impossible. But even if we now find analogous curves, the conclusion would not yet be warranted that similar primary conditions distinctly represented both east and west. For Mendelian heredity produces a reappearance of single characteristics, even in complete mixtures, where the aggregate of the combinations in a given individual nowise fully coincides with that in one of the sources of origin. We must proceed carefully. Fig 3, I-II exhibits the curves compounded for east and west Punjab for pelvis-shoulder breadth and lower arm indices. We observe great similarity of the main crests. The next following curves III-IV exhibit the fronto-parietal and leg-height indices. We observe a complete divergence of the main apices. The problem, accordingly, is not to be so readily solved.

Now let us scrutinize the first index more closely. Here measurements, proportionally almost homologous are brought into relation, namely, two trunk-breadths. In a study of the Garhwalis I shortly hope to be able to demonstrate that in a *homogeneous* population a close connexion exists for such measures probably on the basis of heredity, and that indications exist that in hybrids such measures retain in certain circumstances a connexion based upon the inheritance of the proportions. Hybridisation does not shuffle all somatic qualities altogether at random; a variety of the measures taken by us are on the contrary determined by influences operating in the same sense, namely by the *few* hereditary determinants of the proportions. For example, the father is homozygotic, long-limbed by his racial *anlage* and the mother of equally pure short-limbed race,—the adult son then exhibits either the long or short limbs but not short arms and long legs or conversely. Something similar perhaps may apply to the above-noted lower-arm index. The indices (= *relative* measures) in question accordingly only eliminate the influence of a degree of growth, but in other respects behave like *absolute* measurements. But if we take an index that does *not* flow from qualities presumably of like heredity, one, in fact, in which the original proportion of the integral individual measures is no longer represented, then the comparison can no longer show the two original fundamental elements, their characteristics can no longer appear again in recognizable shape. Fig 3, III-IV. We observe two things in general; a definite value attaches to the index, and in parti-

cular, the curves of Fig. 3, III-IV, with their *equal* breadth of variation but *different* crests, show, when compared with the *congruent* curves III-IV, that in the West Punjabi probably like elements appear as in the East, no longer clearly distinguished however as in that case, but entirely mixed.

If the above-mentioned similar curves exhibit the racial elements in question because the *indices* they represent behave as independent heritable absolute measures, then such absolute measures themselves must above all exhibit the double-crest character and by this allow the fundamental racial elements to be distinguished. This would obtain at any rate for the case of the two chief populations to be compared (here east and west Punjabi) living under approximately like conditions. Different nutrition may modify the size, different callings the proportions. We are therefore careful to judge by the absolute measures of the head as the part least dependent upon the general condition of nutrition. The influence of occupation may be neglected ; the subjects of our measurements are all agriculturists. Fig. 4 shows the result ; the two main crests appear upon the double-curves with close similarity. Accordingly, the same two chief racial elements must prevail in both east and west Punjabi. The different heights of the corresponding crests show sometimes that in the individuals under our consideration they are not always represented in equal strength.

For the population of the Punjab, then as far as reflected in our 144 individuals, we ascertain in

general a similar somatic character, belonging to one great race which, with the exception of a few foreign admixtures, is composed of two elements. These are thoroughly mixed in the west and fairly pure in the east.

The question now arises,—how are these two varieties differentiated? As it cannot rest upon occupation, may the origin be of a social nature? In all races the upper classes exhibit differences in build (as well as in emotions and mind). But social distinctions of such a degree do not enter into the present case. Possibly the distribution within the area furnishes an explanation. Then we should have local varieties, locally different accentuation of one great racial type.

To solve the question I tabulate the districts from which the people of the less disturbed east Punjab hail, according to their geographical disposition: First, the districts in the Siwaliks, then those in the plains, next those of the outlying plains. This is an arrangement according to the great isohypses of the land-surface. The diagram so obtained is utilized for our combination-method and brought into relation with a given somatic character. Fig. 5 exhibits such a "geographical combination-diagram" for the nasal index. At the first glance distinct relations appear between the factors combined, even correlation may be observed. A connexion accordingly exists between the surface of the land and the type of the race, preliminary at least for the shape of the nose. The concentrations are especially clear for the people of Hoshiarpur in the Siwalik hills and those of Patiala out in the

plain; they correspond to the two main crests (Cf. Figs. 1, II). Are these concentrations repeated in respect of other characteristics as well? Have we here a case of local variation? Fig. 6 shows them also for the jugomandibular index on the one side and also for an observation well suited for tabulation, namely the colour of the skin on the other side. Both index and observation here again display the concentration; as in the case of the somatic comparisons we have the resultants of the type-divergences of the population right through, those, namely, of two fairly evident local varieties in the east Punjab, of which the one has its seat in the mountains, the other in the plains. In the west, then, we find these two local varieties mixed; but as already noted, they are still distinguishable in the mixture. A very interesting circumstance is that, with the help of a suitable mode of observation the skin-colour can well be utilized for purposes of combination. The two combinations again plainly correspond to the two curve-crests and the respective domiciles.

The west furnishes a different picture. Its mixed population, settled under like conditions at the foot of the Himalayas, when surveyed in the direction of north to south, displays no differences of skin-colour. But if we survey the districts in the direction of east to west, as in the case in Fig. 7, the population of the north-west Punjab is sharply distinguished from that of the Pathans settled in the hilly N. W. Frontier Province. The latter have a distinctly lighter colour, to which already a part of the population of the likewise mountainous district

of Rawalpindi shades over. The comparison of the two skin-curves in form and crests (Nos. 12 and 15) is very instructive. The relation between altitude of domicile and skin-colour within one and the same race is unmistakable.

The gist of the combination-methods employed accordingly is that by analysis and co-ordination of somatic or descriptive, geographical or social phenomena we may arrive at a graphic delineation and determination of types. We can find local and social varieties, but not the parent races of mixed population, because we do not yet know the heredity of the human proportions. Combination may be extended to even more than pairs of qualities, e. g. three characters may be presented by different symbols or in a perspicuous double diagram. As an example let us excerpt from our east Punjab data the observations that bear upon the question of a Dravidian streak, which also possesses a certain historical interest. Among the Shikhs, individuals occasionally crop out with one or other characteristic of the Deccan population. These are the hybrids who are particularly noticeable in the combination-diagrams based on size and nasal index by reason of the diminutiveness or their broad nose. I would ascribe to their influence upon the nasal index curve the final crest at 75. In Fig. 8 the group situated under this crest in combination with the facial index, contrasts with the concentration that exhibits the mountain element. For the sake of separating the several elements diagrammatically according to their geographical origin as well, the material is divided into four groups roughly corresponding to the constituent elements and denoted by symbols as follows :—

- 1—14 by triangles.
- 15—40 „ crosses.
- 41—59 „ circles.
- 60—76 „ points.

Thus the most broad-nosed are denoted by points, and a glance at the diagram shows (1) that they are markedly more frequent in hill districts and (2) that they have rather broader faces than the rest.

The characteristics of the Patiala people are also readily discerned from diagram (8). From the long-faced individuals of the crest at 93 of the face-index curve, the arrow points to concentration which is occasioned by the concomitant nose-narrowness of this group (crest at 61 of the nasal curve), and leads over to the large concentration consisting chiefly of crosses, which, as the margin indicates, is made up of people from the plains districts. The relations between the two characters and the type they constitute and the nature of the surface are clearly exhibited.

Certain historical considerations may be added. The Punjab furnished the track of the Aryan invaders into India. Are traces of the Aryan race and the Dasyu race discoverable in the material before us ? Invaders and conquerors are hard put to it in a new and populous country. Their arms, their civilization, their organization may have been never so victorious, their blood disappears like a drop in the ocean. Though the storms of war may have carried unnumbered hosts of invaders across crowded territories, nevertheless the student of races finds again and again that the original ethnic composition remains as undisturbed as the sand at

the bottom of the sea during a storm. The relatively small numbers of the strangers, the change of climate and above all the deficiency of women are fatal.

It is frequently assumed that the Aryans in India are wanderers from quite afar, such as from the shores of the Baltic. All the way from the Baltic to India! How many Nordic types might have been able to withstand the mere lapse of time and the allies of time, the hostile power of climate, strife, labour and the allurements of the encampments? From an anthropological standpoint such a distant source is quite improbable. In this question we must distinguish severely between language and race. Language, to be sure, like other products of civilization, is passed on by people, but their racial constituents only move within a confined space or in a limited quantity, while the substance of their civilization spreads over whole continents. Civilization and race stand as wave and water. We perceive the advance of the wave and might even attribute a proper motion to it, nevertheless, the molecules of water only move in a limited amplitude up and down. Similarly, the undulation of the racial units is locally bounded but the spread of civilization is world-wide. So it happens that the Aryan languages are linguistically related agreeably with their geographical distribution, and we must look for a not too distant home for the racial constituents of the Indian immigrants, such as the arid East Iran. In vast numbers, together with their women and children and during the long periods, must they have migrated downwards into the wooded plains

of the Five River Land. The Vedas cover many and long generations of the heroic period, Parçu and Prithu are often the only extra-Indian peoples mentioned. Airya was also once the name for the country about Herat in the present Afghanistan. Just in respect of religion, one of the most conservative of spiritual influences, the primitive Iranians had much in common with the people of the Vedas. We must search for somatic traces of these last among the men who display the characteristics in which the immigrants took pride—among the fair-skinned, narrow-nosed, tall men, and we must expect to find them in the most fertile areas where the immigrants settled. Everything points to our present plains-element.

Then the Dasyu. We have observed Dravidoid types among the Punjabis. But they are sparse. They play no part in the question of the mass of a people partially absorbed, partially displaced, yet not devoid of significance in their civilization. While at first the term Dasyu is used convertibly with enemy, in the later Vedas it comes to mean 'slave' and eventually 'servant'. It plainly reflects the transition in the relations between conquerors and aborigines, or at least a section of the aborigines that did not withdraw to the mountains before superior force. The latter must have formed the majority. Again and again the Rigveda declares: "The hill is the friend of the Dasyu"; "Let his own friend, the mountain, cast him down that followeth a different law, the inhuman, the non-sacrificing, the godless one!" Or again, "Thou (Indra) hast cast Dasa Shambara down the ant"

(Rig Veda, VIII, 59, 11 ; IV, 26, 4). Everything points to the conclusion that the sheltering hills were occupied by the overborne people, Now we have observed that our subjects from the hills actually possess broader noses and lesser stature. May we not presume that hostile detraction has exaggerated these characters ? This might occur especially in regard to the colour of the skin. At the time the Dasyu inhabited the hot plains. We have already recognized the influence of insolation upon pigmentation. The Aryans can scarcely have been darker than the Pathans measured, (No. 3). The Dasyu cannot well have been fairer than our present plains-dwellers, (No. 15). Moreover there may have been true Dravidians among the allies and the slaves. To this day, the fair-skinned European philistine of the north dubs the races of the South Mediterranean coast 'niggers', i. e., "blacks". Certain relations between our mountaineers and the quondam Dasyus are therefore not altogether improbable.

In conclusion, let me essay a comprehensive characterization of the racial elements of our Punjab population, according to direct observation as well as the deductions from the combination-diagrams. Only a small fraction of this latter material could be embodied in this place. Under the great race-group belonging to the most distant ramifications of the so-called Mediterranean—in a broader sense, European—population, bounded on the east by the desert of Thar, we discovered two local variations and several mixed groups, of which the undermentioned are of special interest.

(1.) The Hill-men or local variety of Hoshiarpur, settled in or about the Siwalik hills, who exhibit a fairer skin-colour (No. 21) than the plains people as well as lesser stature (about 1.88m) and broader nose (index about 70, absolute breadth about 37 mm). The face is lower, (indices, 93, 72, 55) and broader (absolute bizygomatic breadth—about 138 mm). Here the back-head is frequently arched and a lower, mostly straight or bent, bridge of the nose observed. The forehead frequently exhibits pronounced superciliary ridges, the nose itself is narrow and slightly depressed at the root, only to broaden rapidly lower down. The contour of the face mostly concealed by the strong growth of the beard—is oval, narrower below (index about 74, bigonial breadth about 101 mm.), than in the plainsmen. The absolute head-length is somewhat less than in the former (about 193 mm), also the breadth (about 144) so that small heads are commoner in the hills. The head-index generally varies about 72, so that the heads are relatively shorter than in the plains, and accordingly the breadth has relatively diminished less than the length. The mean of the absolute as well as relative trunk-length is somewhat lower in the hills (index 29.5). This shortness of the trunk is compensated by a corresponding length of the limbs (arm-index about 150); at the same time the relative shoulder breadth is more considerable (index about 74). Even in the absolute measurements the rather greater length of arm and leg is noticeable in the hills, despite the lesser stature, although in consequence

of the converse tendency of the trunk, the character appears more distinctly in the index-figures.

Whenever opposing tendencies of this kind appear in the racial differentiation, the differences in the varieties always seem very pronounced. The jugo-mandibular index, for instance, displays this already in the face (broader zygomatic-bones but narrower jaw-bone in the hills). Measurements like these are then also especially fitted to bring out the racial differentiations in the present material. Here I take occasion to note that in the case of local variations, not even in divergent races, does *every* character change; many, indeed, remain constant, while others may exhibit now positive now negative values in the comparison. From which it follows that not every combination reflects the racial distinctions equally well. We possess biological material uniform in the main scheme, but exhibiting flux, alternation and transitional conditions of the most various kinds in details.

(2.) The plainsmen—the local variety of the Patiala people—inhabit the plains south of the Siwalik hills and exhibit a darker skin-colour (about No. 15) than the people of the hills. Their contrast to the latter has already been emphasized in the foregoing paragraphs. It will suffice in this place to refer to certain of the characteristic figures and observations; the smooth forehead, the high, narrow face (indices,—87, 76, 53; absolute breadth about 133 mm) which, nevertheless, displays a greater relative and absolute bigonial breadth (index 78, absolute breadth about 105 mm), a more angular character, in fact, the straight ridge of the

high and narrow nose (index 62; breadth about 34 mm.), the rather more delicate bony structure and more regular features—much more regular than among men of the same vocations in Europe. Another point is the flat back-head, an observation also expressed by the relative shortness of the head ascertained by measurements (index about 75), while, on the other hand, both length and breadth are greater than in the hills (about 195 and 147 respectively), so that the average circumference of the head is somewhat greater too. The stature ranges about 1.73 m., the limbs are comparatively short (arm-index 142), the trunk is relatively long (index about 31) and the shoulder-breadth correspondingly less (index about 70). The colour of hair and eyes is the same in both sections of the race; the first exhibits the black-brown of No. 27 of Fisher's hair-colour scale, the eyes generally about No. 2-4 on Martin's scale. Only a single individual exhibited lighter hair and eye colours, which is not surprising, in view of the not infrequent admixture of fair-haired barbarians from Central Asia among the invaders of northern India.

(3.) The mixed race of the north-western Punjab, chiefly Muhammadan. In this case, a similar range of variation and similar means point to similar racial constituents, and the analysis of the diagrams and curves indicates a like origin with that of the eastern Punjab. The two local variants discernable there cannot be separated in the medley. But the community of origin may be clearly recognized in respect of certain detailed characters;

the curves run parallel, and the same crests are evident. The character no longer in their original relation, come out in their independent Mendelian heredity. But their association in the hybrids resembles the original one only in so far as their dependence upon definite proportional determinants involves this. Thus the mean values for the west Punjabi (cf. charts I-II) always vary closely about those for the east Punjabi and frequently lie between those of the local variations of the latter. In the east Punjab individual, the characteristics now of the one, now of the other element predominate. The east Punjab people are chiefly in a condition of *artificial* mixture, so to speak; military service shuffled up the two local varieties. But the west Punjab people are in a condition of *biologic* mixture; the two integral groups are mingled by heredity. Without the key provided by a knowledge of the east Punjabi, the west Punjabi would have been very difficult to analyse. In their behaviour to one another, historic influences of distant time are reflected, as well as the chief trend of migration up to recent times. The circumstance is not devoid of interest that the two groups of Sikhs in the east and Muhammadans in the west which are so strictly distinguished by religion, constitute a unity from the racial point of view, with but trifling differences. The Muhammadans themselves are Indians in somatic respects, there is no indication of a strong dominating influence of alien races. When Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul assumes (Census Report, 1911, XIV, 128), that about 15 % of the Muhammadan Punjabis are of "foreign" origin, this would appear

rather too high than too low an estimate for the Muhammadans we are speaking of. The preceding observations about conquering races have their bearing here again.

(4.) The mixed groups, of which two demand particular attention; the Dravidoid element in the east and that western group, which is remarkable for their short heads among the Pathan. The men of this western group exhibit a short face too; they have presumably also a relatively narrow pelvis, long limbs, short trunk and tall stature. These are characters which point to racial elements from Iran, especially from Baluchistan. So far, *detailed* measurements from those quarters are wholly wanting. Investigation of the Indo-Iranic border-districts founded on similar principles and methods with the foregoing would speedily clear the subject up. At present nothing definite too can be said regarding the exact geographical distribution of the race at large nor of its local variations and mixed groups.

(5.) Lastly, the Dravidoid mixed group: In a purely descriptive sense it is remarkable for the low, broad nose-bridges, the large mouth and arched back-head. The zygomatic bones are fairly broad and the arms long, but above all the stature short and the nose very broad, both relatively and absolutely. Possibly we are dealing with a recent admixture, but this unmistakeably eastern element may also have filtered through in earlier times across the low watershed between the Siwaliks and the Thar. It does not come out very clearly in the material

before us. It must not be forgotten that the latter embraces but a fraction of the material which promises far-reaching conclusions from comprehensive and detailed investigation, and was only at our disposal by means of a mere fortuitous occasion. Systematic anthropometric investigations according to districts and tahsils, sexes, castes and religions separately, comparisons of town and country, occupations and ages, having due regard to the routes of trade and migration, i. e. geographical and historical facts might be rewarded by brilliant results just in North-West India, where related branches of science have been pursued with such completeness.

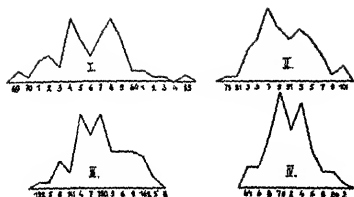


Fig. 1. Double-crested curves of the east Panjabis. (I-IV. Jugomandibular, nasal, arm-trunk, and shoulder-trunk indices.)

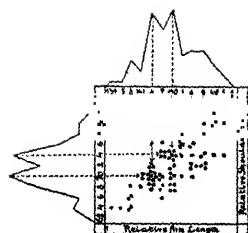


Fig. 2. Combination diagram showing the correspondence of curve-crests. (Relative arm-length X rel. shoulder-breadth of east Panjabis.) and the concentration of types.

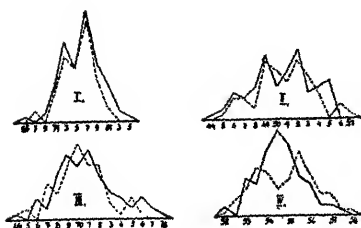


Fig. 3. Similarity (I-II) and divergence (III-IV) of compounded curves of east and west Panjabis. Dotted line: west Panjabis. (I-IV: pelvic-shoulder breadth, lower arm-trunk, front oparietal, and leg-height indices.)

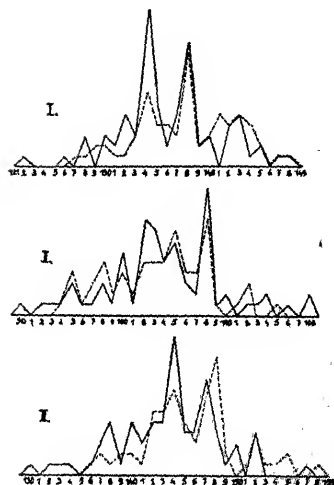


Fig. 4. Compounded curves of absolute head measures (I-III: bizygomatic, bigonial, head breadths.) Dotted line: west Panjabis.

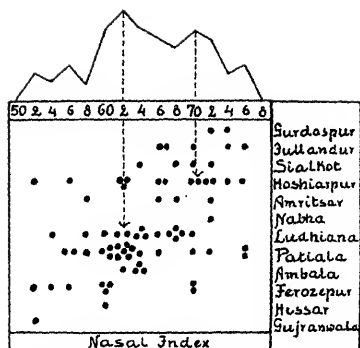


Fig. 5. Geographical combination diagram for the nasal index of the east Panjabis showing the correspondence of crests concentrations (correlation) and the land-surface

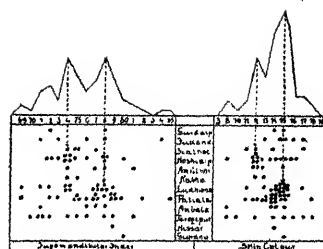


Fig. 6. Geographical combination diagram for the jugomandibular index and the skin colour (east Panjabis) showing the analysis of the curve crests and the distribution of the skin colour according to mountainous and plain districts.

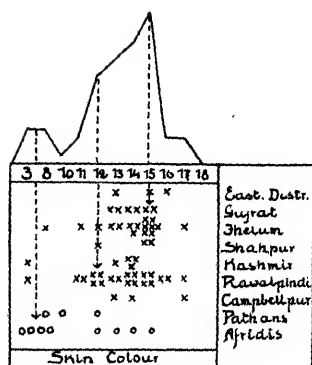


Fig. 7. Geographical combination diagram for the skin colour of the west Panjabis showing the dependence of pigmentation from altitude of habitat.

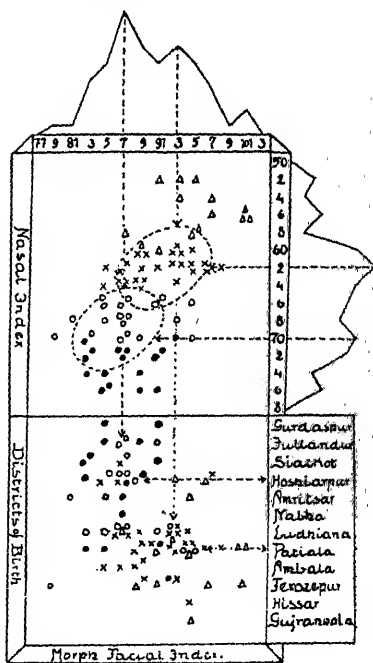


Fig. 8. Double combination diagram for the east Panjabis showing the relation between two morphological characteristics, the analysis of their curves and the concentration and distribution of the types according to mountainous and plain districts.



Dayaal Singh, from Sialkot.
Hill type Sikh.
(cf. Sikh. z f, Ethn. 1920-21, meas. list No 46.)



Mohammad Khan, a Kashmiri.
Soft east mediterranean type.
(Meas. list No. 6.)



Sarmast Khan,
an Ashakhel Afridi.
(Meas list No. 68.)



Bag Ali (beardless) and Mobarak Khan.
Mohammadans from the western Panjab.
(Meas, 1st No 11 & 48)



Bag Ali (beardless) and Mobarak Khan.
Mohammadans from the western Panjab.
(Meas, list No, 11 & 48.)



Eastern Panjabi,
Plains men type.



Rangratta Khan,
A Mohammadan from Fhelum.
(Measurement list No. 35.)

SUPPLEMENT.

Results of descriptions and measurements of 68

Muhammadans from the Punjab.

The subjects were all well set up and well nourished individuals throughout. They came to North Germany in the World-War, where they suffered much from catarrhal affections by reason of the cold. They were accordingly removed together with other southerners to the then most accessible climate, southern viz. to Roumania. This was done at the suggestion and under the guidance of the well-known African ethnologist Leo Frobenius, who has earned great credit for his attention to the well-being and his scientific study of these men. Collin's dynamometer furnishes some indication of the bodily condition, besides the under-noted girths of muscles and chests. The figures correspond to pressures of an equivalent number of kg. 5 of our Muhammadans scaled higher with the left than with the right hand, but only one of them (No. 54) was truly left-handed. Two had injuries of the hand. The distribution of muscular power resembles that in the Sikhs, both in range of variation and cresting.

Power

developed :	12	16	19	22	25	28	31	34	37	40	43	46	49	52	55	58	kg.
Right hand	1	0	4	0	6	6	7	14	8	7	6	2	1	2	1	1	=66
Left hand	4	0	1	7	4	17	15	7	1	5	2	2	0	0	1	0	=66

The distribution of our subjects by *caste* is both various and uneven, so that it was not possible to trace social variations by help of the combination

method. The 11 Muhammadans from the North-West Frontier—so-called Pathans—were accordingly included in the investigation. They are numerically too few to justify a separate investigation and may best be dealt with here upon religious, geographical and racial grounds.

The above investigation took account only of the broad features of the racial picture. But *single individuals* are occasionally of interest already in the description. This holds for instance for No. 61 a man from Hazara with singularly soft features. This influence, doubtless emanating from Kashmere, also showed traces in some men from the district of Rawalpindi. Some very coarse and powerful types occurred among the Afridis, e. g. No. 60. These people have a sturdier type than the people of the Punjab proper even when, like the strikingly broad-nosed Sarmast Khan (No. 68), they were quite short. The observation in 17 men of more or less convex noses—a characteristic of the Armenoid races (see V. Lushan, Huxley-Memorial Lecture, 1911)—indicates the presence of various but not very considerable mixtures. Among the Sikhs, on the other hand, only 9 convex noses occurred. These are all merely indications; the material was much too scanty for more, the best remains for the investigation of the future!

In their emotional nature, the Muhammadans of the Punjab, in contradistinction to Sikhs and Pathans, evince a sinister pride and aversion to every form of bodily activity (the Rajputs!) The Muhammadans have their caste prejudice as

well, and this was strictly respected by their superiors. It is interesting to observe how, on the other hand, the mentality of a race may be influenced by factors characteristic of people, such as custom, civilization, habit, religion. But probably this is only superficial, just as the somatic character is but externally and superficially overlaid by costume, occupation and gesture.

All our Muhammadans are agriculturists, all are soldiers, all sound and full-grown individuals. Where a man had injuries, the measurements of the parts involved were not taken. The ages are distributed as follows: 2 individuals under 20, 32 (the majority) between 20 and 25; 11 between 25 and 30; 11 between 31 and 35; 6 between 36 and 40; 4 between 41 and 45; 5 above 45. The parents belong without exception to the same community or caste as the son, the mother almost always is from the father's village or one adjoining. 17 of the subjects have 43 children, all 58 of them have 184 brothers and sisters.

For hair and eye-colours, see above. The character of the hair is straight or slightly waved. Only 1 Afridi and 3 Rajputs wore the beard on chin and cheek, all the other Muhammadans were shaved. The frequent moustache was often some shades lighter than the hair of the head, with a slight reddish tendency.

Prominent ears were observed in 16 cases. Perhaps it may be due to the nature of the head-gear. The lobe of the ear was grown on in only a single instance. A *tuberculum Darwinii* was observed in no fewer than 14 (of whom 6 were Sikhs).

The ocular fissure is usually wide open. The cheek-bones were mostly flat, in 13 cases slightly prominent. The back-head was described as follows: 21 flat (11 Sikhs), 28 arched (10 Sikhs), 32 overhanging (55 Sikhs). Much fewer overhanging heads are accordingly met with than in the east, which may be accounted for by mixture and which also takes effect in the head index.

The faces displayed an oval configuration in 48 subjects, a more angular configuration in 20. 1 face was classed as high (S. 14), 54 as middling high (S. 55), and 13 as low (S. 7). The absence of beard facilitates more accurate measurements than in the Sikhs. The shapes of fore-head are distributed as follows: 12 low, 40 Middle, 16 high.

The nose-bridge is for the most part very high, only in 8 less so (Sikhs likewise), never low. The outline is generally straight, but uneven contours occur (4, Sikh: 1), and even slightly concave (3, S.: 2), above all pronouncedly convex outlines in 17 (Sikh: 9). The nostrils are always very narrow. The end of the nose points forward or down; 6 expanded nostrils occur. The nose is on the whole more variable in the west than in the east. Lantern slides of some types whose measurements are given in chart III have appeared in the anthropological series of the *Bild archiv Freiburg* and are sold there.

The subjoined charts show a number of selected absolute measurements and indices which would seem to suffice for the characterization of the group and for its comparison with other groups. The figures for east Punjab and west Punjab have been

set side by side for ease of comparison. Let the approximate figures given above for the two local variants be compared. The absolute individual figures are given in chart III, the individual indices are omitted in that place to save space, likewise the values calculated from the given measurements of upper and lower thigh, leg, arm *etc.* These accordingly are gained by means of "indirect measurements". Only the important trunk length and the nasal index are added. The letters after the denomination of the measurements denote, for the sake of avoiding any misunderstanding, the extremities of the intervals in question, given in the abbreviations used in Martin's large work, in Wilder's work (*Laboratory Manual of Anthropometry*, Philadelphia, 1919) and other works. "Relative" is always to be understood as percentage of the trunk-length, the true measure-standard of the body.

Chart I.

Averages of head-measures and indices.

East Punjabi (S.) and west Punjabi (M.) side by side.

Nose.	Face.		Phys. facial length		M.	S.
	M.	S.	" sup. fac. "	" "		
Nasal length ...	55.4	55.5	Morph. facial length	...	185.8	189.4
Nasal breadth ...	35.8	35.5	Bizygomatic breadth	...	76.7	75.8
Nasal prominence ...	31.9	31.1	Morph. facial index	...	123.1	123.2
Height-breadth index ...	64.6	64.8			137.9	136.7
Breadth-depth index ...	88.8	84.9			89.2	90.0
Parts.	Part.		Interocular breadth		M.	S.
	M.	S.	Oral breadth	" index ...		
Bigonial breadth ...	103.8	103.0	Bar index	31.5	31.9
Jugomandibular index ...	76.4	76.3			48.9	47.4
Jugofrontal index ...	74.8	75.4			28.0	28.0
Frontoparietal index ...	70.0	71.9			54.2	56.2
Head.		M.		S.		
Frontal breadth	...	103.3	103.4			
Head length	...	193.3	195.5			
Head breadth	...	145.7	177.9			
Length-breadth index.	...	75.2	73.8			

CHART III. Individual Measurements of 68 Indian Muhammedans and Pathans.			District of birth.	Max. head length f.p.p.	Max. head breadth crown	Least frontal br. f. f.	Bryzomatic br. f. f.	Biconial breadth go-go	Pharyngeal breadth facial angle	Physiolog. supra-aural length ear	Morphological ear length	Nasal height n.n.	Nasal breadth al-al	Nasal prominence p.n.-cheek	Interocular br. oc. oc.	Oral breadth ch. ch.	Height of lips l. f. f.	Nasal Index.	Trunk length Calc. of scap.	Arm-stretch.	Vertex height from floor.	Suprasternale h. f. floor.	Acromion h. f. floor.	Radiale, h. f. floor.	Stylen, h. f. floor.	Phalangion, h. f. floor.	Ficristale, h. f. floor.	Fisipale, h. f. floor.	Symphysion, h. f. floor.	Biconomial breadth a-a.	Biconial breadth f-c.	Iliacal height f. floor.	Shion, h. f. floor.	Max. foot length p.p.p.	Max. breadth mt. mt.	Sitting height.	Length of the Middle finger ph III-da III.	Breadth of the head mm.
No.	NAME.	Caste.																																				
1	Khan Muluk ..	Avan ..	Jhelum ..	185	144	100	133	97	188	80	128	60	32	30	31	46	24	53.3	497	1830	1750	1452	1475	1120	850	770	1075	1035	955	348	..	475	78	248	86	865	98	82
2	Mohammad Khan ..	Gakhar ..	Rawalpindi ..	194	144	105	135	99	185	82	130	65	35	37	35	50	76	53.9	535	180	1725	1725	1402	1057	795	708	1044	970	890	362	290	475	70	257	90	875	98	87
3	Jateh Khan ..	Avan ..	Shahpur ..	187	142	103	136	97	194	82	125	63	34	36	30	43	20	54.0	520	1730	1728	1444	1445	1095	835	750	1080	1000	922	366	282	495	71	262	92	862	100	84
4	Karam Flabi ..	Avan ..	Campbellpur ..	188	148	108	138	105	177	74	118	54	40	32	34	50	20	54.1	492	1850	1738	1438	1455	1107	838	748	1080	992	940	368	280	498	72	260	96	850	106	92
5	Rahimbux ..	Gujar ..	Hoshiarpur ..	201	149	104	144	107	196	80	127	60	33	32	32	52	11	55.0	..	1775	1680	1398	1395	1053	805	715	1012	940	..	370	298	465	75	260	98	870	98	87
6	Mohammad Khan ..	Suddhan ..	Punchh ..	194	147	103	141	101	178	78	110	58	34	30	30	46	20	58.6	517	1770	1710	1397	1387	1055	800	692	1018	960	880	365	265	475	72	278	94	875	98	84
7	Fakir Khan ..	Suddhan ..	Kashmir State ..	188	193	108	134	99	184	76	122	56	33	32	31	45	18	58.9	498	1815	1746	1430	1420	1075	810	718	1066	998	932	372	288	500	68	262	90	890	100	84
8	Gheba Khan ..	Maer ..	Jhelum ..	198	142	97	136	100	175	77	124	54	32	35	28	48	20	59.3	501	1805	1695	1400	1400	1052	800	705	1028	1000	895	352	..	480	70	268	92	845	102	86
9	Khudadad Khan ..	Pukhra ..	Rawalpindi ..	184	147	99	139	103	172	47	122	54	32	29	28	47	12	59.3	529	1780	1725	1422	1405	1056	800	715	1046	1002	893	384	290	490	82	252	89	880	100	83
10	Mohammad Khan ..	Avan ..	Shahpur ..	178	143	102	138	110	178	31	125	60	36	33	30	53	18	60.0	538	1860	1800	1473	1495	1143	864	770	1078	1028	935	370	292	500	68	256	90	928	103	82
11	Moharak Khan ..	Avan ..	Gujrat ..	205	147	103	135	105	183	8	122	56	34	35	32	50	18	60.7	563	1885	1782	1478	1478	1105	840	732	1075	993	915	388	295	490	72	255	98	928	103	88
12	Khadi Khan ..	Avan ..	Hazara ..	194	143	98	131	104	173	74	118	54	33	34	31	45	18	61.1	495	1840	1660	1370	1370	1020	756	668	1012	965	875	386	272	484	70	246	96	830	102	85
13	Gulam Mohammad ..	Cheb ..	Gujrat ..	185	144	102	142	107	192	73	122	54	33	29	33	50	18	61.1	520	1818	1722	1422	1438	1070	850	720	1070	1020	902	368	276	485	68	250	95	880	102	86
14	Sultan Khan ..	Cheb ..	Gujrat ..	197	137	96	128	95	184	78	120	54	34	35	31	50	20	63.0	514	1915	1755	1440	1470	1105	830	740	1065	1005	926	380	272	472	78	270	88	880	111	85
15	Manga Khan ..	Avan ..	Jhelum ..	198	152	108	133	105	198	76	124	58	37	29	31	48	19	63.8	510	1780	1672	1372	1358	1028	763	686	980	914	862	375	274	468	82	255	94	895	104	84
16	Nawab Khan ..	Avan ..	Campbellpur ..	194	147	100	138	108	169	73	118	56	36	34	31	44	12	64.3	533	1780	1735	1428	1432	1080	808	728	1050	980	895	360	275	490	78	267	90	895	96	85
17	Sikandar Khan ..	Gheba ..	Campbellpur ..	198	148	105	135	108	178	80	126	54	35	28	32	48	18	64.8	526	1750	1725	1410	1408	1065	822	743	1020	954	884	345	270	460	71	247	90	870	100	86
18	Sajowan Khan ..	Satti ..	Rawalpindi ..	184	138	95	129	104	192	74	118	52	34	35	28	47	17	64.4	553	1850	1797	1488	1480	1130	857	780	1083	1010	935	393	295	472	78	272	103	932	98	88
19	Sherjaman Khan ..	Satti ..	Rawalpindi ..	198	144	110	141	105	208	78	122	58	39	31	35	50	18	65.5	502	1870	1732	1442	1450	1098	815	720	1060	1004	940	360	280	490	63	254	91	865	102	85
20	Gulam Hassain ..	Avan ..	Rawalpindi ..	199	146	106	138	103	195	76	131	53	35	34	30	48	21	66.0	512	1770	1704	1390	1488	1090	820	735	1020	958	878	380	280	472	78	273	100	865	103	85
21	Fauzdar ..	Mughal Barlas ..	Gujrat ..	192	146	104	141	108	194	74	128	56	37	29	33	48	18	66.1	528	1830	1742	1430	1470	1090	815	730	1065	1030	902	385	302	476	65	265	100	865	102	88
22	Waris Khan ..	Avan ..	Jhelum ..	155	147	105	139	100	178	47	132	51	34	34	31	48	17	66.7	543	1820	1732	1435	1432	1095	836	750	1045	972	892	372	285	485	68	260	94	870	106	87
23	Mohammad Khan ..	Avan ..	Jhelum ..	190	148	106	141	112	177	78	122	57	38	30	30	50	18	66.7	515	1890	1745	1445	1440	1085	810	723	1052	1008	930	286	490	68	68	272	108	895	98	90
24	Jalavdin ..	Bengial ..	Mirpur ..	188	142	107	143	102	180	83	128	60	40	32	30	48	20	66.8	518	1930	1730	1434	1414	1068	805	710	1068	1002	916	392	282	490	68	273	98	865	100	88
25	Dhuman Khan ..	Gakhar ..	Jhelum ..	202	148	103	143	110	180	80	125	52	35	32	32	50	20	67.3	510	1920	1778	1476	1495	1118	845	750	1115	1040	966	378	288	515	70	270	97	875	105	83
26	Dulla Khan ..	Gujar ..	Ludhiana ..	182	140	98	129	96	175	70	112	52	35	30	32	50	17	67.3	478	1660	1568	1273	1276	962	722	638	935	870	795	335	235	420	70	242	86	840	90	82
27	Sultan Ahmad ..	Khitana ..	Gujrat ..	192	148	108	144	97	190	76	120	53	36	34	31	51	20	67.9	535	1870	1772	1455	1460	1092	824	726	1065	1017	920	263	472	78	78	278	94	895	100	94
28	Jarman Ali ..	Gakhar ..	Rawalpindi ..	192	145	102	143	103	192	70	116	50	34	27	29	48	17	68.0	530	1780	1725	1440	1435	1095	835	745	1056	980	910	358	280	495	70	255	95	865	100	84
29	Muzafar Khan ..	Avan ..	Shahpur ..	195	152	98	138	104	185	47	122	54	37	34	32	50	19	68.5	510	1885	1725	1425	1426	1075	802	706	1060	1000	915	375	290	480	58	270	98	882	108	88
30	Karam Ali ..	Mughal ..	Jhelum ..	202	143	101	136	102	186	74	122	54	37	31	34	48	20	68.5	480	1790	1710	1420	1405	1045	795	705	1070	1010	940	368	245	480	80	264	98	842	101	88
31	Fazal Ahmad ..	Sasral ..	Jhelum ..	194	144	106	137	107	187	78	123	50	33	30	33	50	22	68.9	530	1890	1750	1445	1432	1098	790	696	1050	982	915	378	289	485	70	253	91	888	100	82
32	Mohammad Araf ..	Gakhar ..	Jhelum ..	196	144	95	142	108	192	73	124	54	38	33	32	45	12	70.4	520	1820	1726	1422	1420	1072	807	712	1075	1000	902	380	295	470	66	262	98	868	103	85
33	Abdul Karim ..	Barechh ..	Jhelum ..	187	144	104	133	98	178	68	115	50	27	30	28	42	14	74.0	506	1770	1680	1582	1390	1050	800	713	1023	973	876	380	272	475	78	254	92	860	96	87
34	Saraf Khan ..	Avan ..	Jhelum ..	188	149	100	134	104	173	70	115	50	37	32	31	45	18	74.0	492	1680	1640	1355	1346	1010	772	692	975	900	858	340	265	442	63	243	89	845	95	81
35	Rangratia Khan ..	Avan ..	Jhelum ..	197	152	108	142	100	172	75	116	54	40	28	36	46	17	74.1	519	1700	1675	1374	1392	1050	821	728	990	932	855	380	278	460	70	260	88	890	98	82
36	Jahan Khan ..	Mughal Japre ..	Jhelum ..	190	136	49	132	102	175	70	120	50	38	32	34	48	14	76.0	524	1770	1720	1416	1420	1068	818	733	1038	980	892	373	284	462	75	255	96	872	100	80
37	Man Khan ..	Utmanjai ..	Hazara ..	194	147	103	138	98	194	84	130	58	..	30	31	50	18	..	492	1715	1635	1330	1342	1005	756	673	990	920	838	366	270	450	68	250	98	820	96	80
38	Feman Ali ..	Fajionan Rajput ..	Rawalpindi ..	197	144	102	134	95	208	82	132	60	32	34	30	50	22	53.3	..	1750	1690	1390	1380	1040	792	712	1003	940										

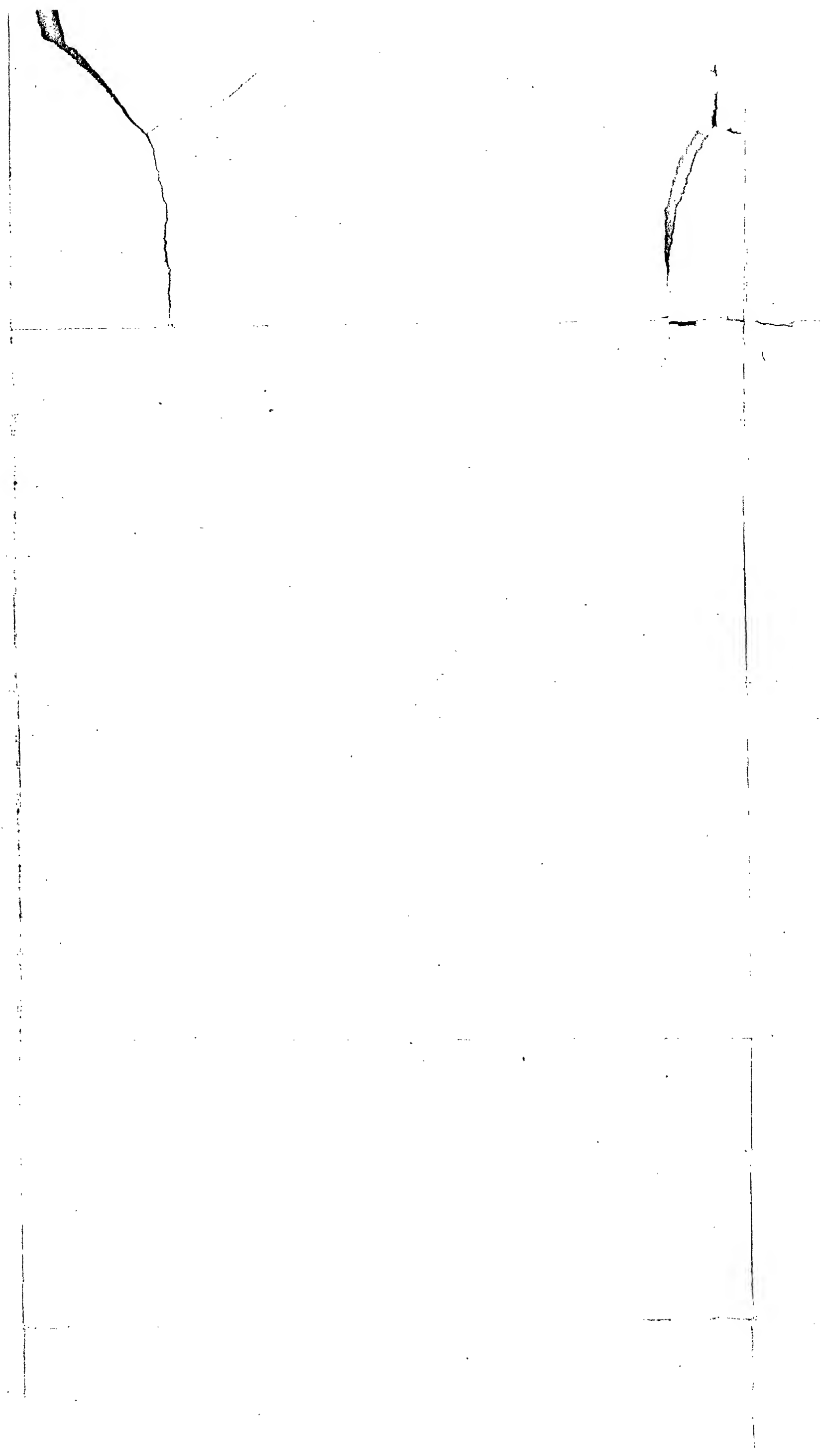


Chart II.
Measurements and indices of the body.

Parts	M.	S.	Members.		M.	S.
Height from floor ...	172.0	172.1		Arm length, absolute	80.3	80.1
Sitting height ...	87.8	88.2		" " relative	153.8	152.2
Arm stretch ...				Leg length, absolute	94.8	93.3
Trunk length ...	52.2	52.5		" " relative	181.2	181.0
Finger length ...	100.2	101.8		Max. foot length ...	26.0	26.1
Hand breadth ...	86.5	86.5		" " breadth...	96.0	96.0
Upperarm length, absolute	35.1	35.0	Leg	Femur length, absol.	46.8	46.3
" " relative ...	67.2	66.8		" " relative	89.6	88.0
Radius length, absolute	26.3	26.3		Tibia length, absol.	40.6	41.3
" " relative ...	50.2	50.5		" " relative	77.8	78.1
Biacromial breadth, abs. ...	36.9	37.5	Height indices	Arm stretch-height ind.	105.5	105.6
" " rel. ...	70.6	71.8		Leg length " "	55.2	54.8
Ilio-cristal breadth abs. ...	28.0	28.4		Arm length " "	46.7	46.6
" " rel. ...	53.7	54.2		Shoulder-height	22.4	21.7
Acromio cristal index ...	73.3	76.0		Christal breadth	15.7	15.9
Girth of Thorax, inspir. ...	91.6	91.7	Circum-ferences.	Head horizont. circumf.	55.7	55.2
" " expir. ...	85.7	86.2		Girth of upper arm	25.3	25.8
Thorax (insp.)—Height ind. ...	52.8	52.7		" " wrist, least	16.0	16.4
" " —trunk	175.5	174.1		" " the calf	32.7	33.3
Intermembral index ...	86.1	85.8		" " ankle...	20.3	21.1

II. THE LITTLE FINGER.

By RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B. A.

(Formerly Deputy Commissioner, Central Provinces.)

If I remember aright, Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's mother offered a little blood from her breast out of filial love for the welfare of her distinguished son, by way of sacrifice. But in the northern portion of the Central Provinces, the blood acceptable for such a purpose is from the little finger. Even in a case of human sacrifice, the offering of blood made to the fire is from the little finger which supplied the clue to the right motive of a murder committed in the year 1905 in a small village named Satpara in the district of Damoh in the Central Provinces.

One Phulua Chamar decoyed a young man Parshodi Lohar to a threshing-floor about 300 yards from where there was a pile of stones, known as "Siddh Baba ke Chabutara", with a legend that treasure was buried under it. Phulua was actuated with a desire to get this treasure, for which he thought a precious sacrifice was necessary. But he did not divulge his motive even in his confession, which was as follows :—

"Two months ago my cousin Nanha caught Parshadi Lohar in adultery with his wife, and a few days ago he asked me to decoy Parshadi to the threshing floor so that he might kill him. He said 'Tell your employer Parshadi that I have had a dream about the treasure under the *Chabutara*, and bring him out to look for it. Bring cocoanuts and i and barley

for the sacrifice and I will kill him'. I went and told Parshadi this and we bought the articles required for the offerings together. Before going for the barley Parshadi and I went to the temple on the way out to his threshing floor and he performed his devotions. Then three hours after night-fall Parshadi came to my house and summoned me and Nanha. We went with him and we were seen on the road before we reached the temple by Bhakti the wife of Chenchu Chamar who was easing herself. Every thing has been removed from the threshing floor except the poles of the Mandwa and the stool and the axe. Parshadi took the axe and cut up a pole and lit a fire. At Nanha's suggestion he removed all his clothing except his dhoti, and proceeded to offer up the cocoanuts and the *ghi* and the barley at the fire. While he was doing so he complained of the cold and put his spare dhoti over his shoulders. Then as he sat crouching over the fire making the last of the offerings Nanha took the axe and struck him with it on the back of the neck three times and he fell into the fire. Then Nanha told me to cut his fingers, threatening to kill me too if I did not, so I took the axe and cut off his *little finger* and then his big toe and the next toe and then the third toe. We left the axe near the fire and the handle got burnt, so we put it away at a distance, and Nanha and I went home. When we left I did not know that I had dropped my tobacco pouch, which Parshadi had given me. We stopped at a nala on the way home and both washed our clothes, and there I found out that I had left my tobacco pouch behind, but I did not go back to fetch it. When

Parshadi fell into the fire we dragged him out and left him at a short distance away from it".

The Sessions judge in trying the case made the following remarks:—

"The prosecution seems to have established beyond doubt that Phulua, with or without assistance, did murder Parshadi Lohar, but the motive for the crime has not been even indicated with any certainty. Proof of motive is however only one of the many kinds of evidence that can be put forward to prove an offence, and if that particular kind of evidence is not available, there is nothing to prevent the charge being proved on sufficient evidence of other kinds, as has been done in this case. The offence once proved, it lay with Phulua to state what induced him to commit it, if there was anything in that motive which might possibly extenuate the crime. He denies that he ever had any motive, and I am unable to find one for him which is proved. He stated at first that the murder was revenge for Parshadi's adultery with Nanha's wife. If this were true it would not in any way excuse Phulua, but the Committing Magistrate has stated very good reason for believing it to be false. There is no suggestion any-where of any impropriety between Parshadi and Phulua's own wife. The nearest we get to it is in the evidence that Parshadi was a young man of rather loose morals and always "ruining" after the women". I am bound therefore to say that the true motive if any in Phulua's case. As the verdict of both

I can see no reason that would justify me in refraining from passing sentence of death on him".

"The finding that Phulua murdered Parshadi for some unknown reason which he is afraid to divulge though judicially complete, is still somewhat unsatisfactory. A motive has been suggested to me after the conclusion of the trial which is not a little astounding, but has much to be said for it, in addition to the total absence of any other conceivable motive. The suggestion is that the killing of Parshadi was a human sacrifice to propitiate the guardian of the hidden treasure and so to be allowed to find it. My Reader Prem Shankar was first struck by the statement that the *little finger* of Parshadi's left hand had been cut off. He knew that the modern substitute for human sacrifices was the offering of blood taken from the little finger of the left hand, and told me of it after the end of the trial. It is unfortunate that the suggestion was not made earlier, as a good deal of evidence might well have been obtained about it. In fact it seems to me that the making of suggestions of this sort is the reason for the existence of Assessors, and so far the two Assessors in this case have failed to justify their existence. Some of the matters supporting this theory I have not recorded, regarding them as irrelevant, but the question is so full of interest, that I feel bound to discuss it, and feel justified, having already arrived at a finding and decided on a sentence, in going outside the record for some of the reasons which make me believe that Parshadi really was a human sacrifice."

"Both Nanha and Phulua have the reputation

of being sorcerers and would be familiar with the details and rites of sacrifices and offerings. The cutting off of Parshadi's *little finger* I have mentioned already, and it is to be noted that in his confession Phulua takes particular care to mention and explain it. He does not say that Nanha told him simply to give Parshadi a blow or two, so as to have a full share in the crime, and that his blow fell on the finger or the toes by accident. He says that Nanha specially told him to cut off his finger and he did so. In fact it would seem from his statement that the three toes were cut off one by one. Then there is the matter of the removal of Parshadi's clothing at midnight on the 28th of December which was suggested by Nanha. A Hindu removes his clothing to eat or perform his devotions to avoid the contact of anything impure. If Nanha and Phulua simply wanted to murder Parshadi and the whole ceremony had been nothing but a sham, there would have been no reason for Nanha's suggestion. Nor would the whole ceremony have been performed so correctly, nor would it have gone so far. The correct order is, first "Puja", then an offering of cocoanuts, then of *ghi*, then of barley or "tilli," and finally the sacrifice of the animal. This order was followed exactly, and it was not till Parshadi had made the last offering, that of the barley, that he was killed, though he had been in exactly the same favourable position during all the previous offerings. The time chosen, midnight, is also the correct time for the ceremonies connected with the desire to have an entrance indicated by the temple for

"The position of the burns on the body also indicate fairly clearly that Parshadi did not fall into the fire when he was cut down but was placed on it afterwards. He was crouching over the fire when he was struck and would inevitably have fallen into it on his face if he had fallen into it at all. But practically all the burns are on his back. Also it appears that his three severed toes were thrown into the fire, as two of them were never found and the third was found at the edge of the ashes. There are two more matters which go to support this theory. For any ordinary sacrifice ordinary household stores may be used, but for a funeral, and therefore by analogy for a human sacrifice, the articles required must be fresh purchased. This would explain Parshadi's purchase of *ghi* instead of taking a little from his own stock at home, a matter which Ganpati remarked. The removal of the toe-rings which were found in the pocket of Parshadi's waist-coat opened out, may also well be significant. At death it is desired to leave the body as free and unbound and untrammelled as possible and all rings and bracelets are always removed. It is quite possible that Parshadi was advised to take off his toe rings to prepare him for death according to this custom, or perhaps merely to facilitate the severance of his toes. There is only one matter I have been able to discover which could be urged against this theory, and that is the absence of all the fingers of his left hand except the little finger. He was not a whole man 'without spot or blemish'. This defect however would very likely be outweighed by the fact that he would be much the easiest man for his servant Phulua to get hold of."

III. WATER-SPIRITS IN NORTH BIHAR.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A.

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There is a village named Rūpdih which is situated 2 miles to the east of Motihari, the head quarters of the district of Champāran in North Bihar. This village belongs to the Bettā Rāj, and is in *mokarrari* lease to the Motihari Indigo Factory. It contains a tank which was excavated very many years ago, as a famine relief-work. The natives of the villages surrounding Rūpdih believe and say that this tank is inhabited by a *Dubbā* (दुब्बा) or a "Drowning spirit" which catches hold of men who unwarily descend into its waters, drag them inside its depths, kill them, and then bury their bodies at the bottom of the tank. On Sunday the 10th June 1923, I, accompanied by the orderly of Mr. P. K. Mitra, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Motihari, had occasion to go to Mauza Sundarpur Babhnauli, Pargana Semrāon, which is situated 6 miles to the north of Motihari for the purpose of visiting the shrine of the famous local deity Goreyā Bābā (गोरेया बाबा) and for studying the cult connected with that godling of disease. While we were passing along Rūpdih, which lay on our way, the Chāprāsī repeated to me the afore-mentioned story about the Rūpdih tank being haunted by a 'Drowning spirit', and of its habit of dragging lone men inside its waters, killing them, and subsequently burying their bodies at the bottom of that tank.

One of our local servants, who is a native of mauza Chhitowni which adjoins Rūpdih, also tells me that the *Dubbā* or 'the Drowning spirit' of the Rūpdih tank assumes the form of a human being, and, at mid-day when there is nobody else about this tank, takes his seat on the margin thereof, and asks for a quid of tobacco (*चुरति*) for chewing from some lone and solitary person who happens to visit the tank at that time; should the latter be foolish and unwary enough to pay heed to the former's request, and go near him for the purpose of giving him the asked-for tobacco, the former would catch hold of him, drag him inside the waters, kill him, and then bury his victim's body at the bottom of the tank.

My informant says that the *Dubbā* does not kill men for the purpose of feeding upon their corpses, but does so with the sole and express object that the ghosts or spirits of his victims may become his companions and keep company with him.

The Rūpdih *Dubbā's* habit of asking for quids of tobacco for chewing from unwary visitors, is also possessed by the ghosts, spooks and beings of that ilk, which are believed to infest the country side in North Bihār. A ghost is believed to haunt the compound of the Anglican Church at Motihari, as also the orchard adjoining it to the west, which belongs to a Bengali settler of this town. This ghost is said to accost lone passers-by in the stilly hours of the mid-night and to ask for *khaini* (powdered tobacco leaf mixed with quicklime) to eat from them, saying with a nasal twang :—
“*खेनि दे, खेनि दे*” or “Please give me some powdered

tobacco to eat; please give me some powdered tobacco to eat." Should the passer-by be foolish enough to pay heed to this ghostly request and to go near him for giving him the asked-for tobacco, it is believed and said that the ghost will surely seize and kill him. If I remember aright, the same story is also told of a ghost which is believed, at least was believed in the past times to which I am referring, to dwell in the large *pipal*-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) which now stands, or, at least, was growing in the past, close to the eastern pillar of the gate-way of the central Post Office in the compound of the District Judge's Court at Chapra.

There is a tank within the town of Motihari itself, which is similarly believed to be haunted by a '*Dubba*' or 'the Drowning spirit' which kills unwary bathers by dragging them inside the waters. This tank is situated on the eastern side of the Lake Road, just between the Executive Engineer's residence and the Central Post Office near the Motihari Railway Station.

One of our local servants from the village Chhitowni says that, many years ago, a Kāyasth lad was going home from school, that, while the latter arrived near this tank, the latter descended into it for the purpose of bathing therein, and that as soon as the latter had got into its waters, the '*Dubba*' seized him by the legs, dragged him inside the waters, and killed him.

It is further stated that this '*Dubba*' or 'Drowning spirit' also asks for *Khaini* (or powdered tobacco mixed with quicklime) from passers-by in the stilly hours of the night.

Another of our local servants, who is also a native of the aforementioned village Chhitowna, tells me that the lotus-covered lake (सम), which skirts the town of Motihari on its western and southern sides, is also haunted by a '*Dubbā*' or 'Drowning spirit'. He further gives me to understand that, about 3 or 4 years ago, an elephant-driver of the Bettīā Raj took his elephant to the south-eastern part of this lake for the purpose of bathing the latter therein. When riding upon the elephant, he descended with the beast into the water—the *Dubbā* or 'the Drowning Spirit' seized him by the legs, dragged him inside the waters, and killed him. The elephant searched, with his proboscis, inside the waters of the lake, for his missing *mahout*. But all the beast's efforts in this direction proved abortive and fruitless. The elephant, therefore, returned alone to the bank of the lake. It is reported that, three or four days after the occurrence of this fatality, the swollen and decomposed body of the elephant-driver was found floating upon the surface of the waters of the lake. The Bihari natives of this locality said that the *mahout* had been killed by the *Dubbā* or 'the Drowning Spirit' which infests the lake of Motihari.

A similar belief in the existence of "Drowning Spirits" in tanks and other reservoirs of water is also current in the adjoining district of Saran in North Bihar. In that district, the "Drowning Spirit" is known under the name of "*Pan dubbā*" (पान दुब्बा) or the 'Drowning Spirit which lives in the water.' The Elliot's Tank, which is situated in the north-western outskirts of Chapra—the head-

quarters of the Saran district, is also believed by the Bihari natives of that place to be inhabited by a '*Pān-dubbā*.' About 5 or 6 years ago, a European Serjeant of the Motihari Police at Chapra, while in a state of drunkenness, descended into the waters of the Elliot's Tank, and, getting entangled among the aquatic weeds which grow all round its margin, could not emerge therefrom and thus got drowned. His body could not be found on the day of the occurrence of this fatality, though the then collector of Saran, Mr. Luce, employed divers with drag-nets to search beneath the waters of the tank for the missing body. But all the divers' efforts to search out the body proved fruitless. On the day following, the corpse was found floating upon the surface of the waters of the tank. The Bihari natives of Chapra believed and said that the *Saheb* (the European Serjeant) had been killed by the '*Pān-dubbā*' or 'the Drowning Spirit' which dwells beneath the waters of the Elliot's Tank.

It will not be out of place to state here that a superstitious belief, similar to the one current in the districts of Champaran and Saran in north Bihar, in the existence of a water-spirit bearing the likeness of an old hag, who dwells in tanks and ponds and who kills unwary persons descending into the waters thereof, was formerly prevalent in Bengal. This spirit was known under the designation of *Jate Burhi* (জাতি বুড়ী) ।

This female water-spirit of the Bengalis was believed to fetter the feet of her would-be victim with an invisible chain. It is said that the victim

was allowed to go wherever he liked, dragging the invisible chain with him, so long as the day-light lasted. But, as soon as the shades of evening began to fall, the water-spirit *Jate-Burī* began to draw in the invisible chain and, therewith, the intended victim also till the latter was fairly inside the waters, when he was killed.

The belief in the existence of this female water-spirit has now become a thing of the past, owing to the spread of English education and enlightenment, and, at the present time, survives in the form of a threat with which Bengali mothers frighten their naughty children into good behaviour. (*Vide my paper On Some Superstitions Regarding Drowning and Drowned Persons in The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXII., Part III., No. 3, for 1893*).

IV. NOTES ON
Kali-Nautch in the District of
Dacca in Eastern Bengal.
BY DHIRENDRA NATH MAZUMDAR, B. A.
AND
SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A.

PART I.

NOTES ON KALI-NAUTCH.
BY DHIRENDRA NATH MAZUMDAR, B. A.

The hook-swinging festival has been popular in the district of Dacca in Eastern Bengal from time immemorial. Although it has now disappeared on account of legislation, its place has been taken by another festival which is differently designated in different parts of the district. The names commonly applied to this festival are *Nila-pūjā* and *Pāṭa-pūjā*. It is celebrated on the last day of the Bengali month of Chaitra which corresponds to the English months March-April.

The customs associated with this Puja or worship-festival are varied and numerous. I shall describe only one of these customs, namely, a *nautch* or dance which is performed by the rustic people of the district, on the same *tithi* or lunar date as the day fixed for the holding of the hook-swinging festival.

Just a fortnight previous to the aforementioned *tithi* or lunar date, the people come out in bands and armed with sticks, and, with drums beating, parade the whole neighbourhood and collect rice and other contributions towards the expenses of the

nautch or dance. This dance is somewhat similar to that performed in connection with the Muharram Festival. The people, particularly the boys, arming themselves with sticks or *kanchis* of different shapes and devices, dance up and down the streets, and are welcomed by all the people of the locality through which the party parades. The dance is held in honour of the goddess Kālī who is the presiding deity of this festival. I have learnt from the devotees—the celebrants of this worship-festival—that, when they fall ill, they usually pray to the goddess Kālī, vowing that, in case they will recover from their illness, they will actually take part in the *nautch* to be performed in honour of her deityship. It, therefore, goes without saying that this *nautch* or dance is the outcome of sincere faith and of devotion; and the devotees indulge in it whole-heartedly.

Three days before the date fixed for the holding of the festival, the devotees assemble in a *maidan* or open plot of ground and there celebrate the *Kālī pūjā*, that is to say, they worship the goddess Kālī under a tree, particularly a banyan tree (*Ficus bengalensis*) at dead of night.

From that night, masked dancers representing the goddess Kālī, that is to say, dancers painted and dressed in such a way as to resemble the form and figure of that goddess, go into the town or the villages in the neighbourhood, and dance before the houses of respectable people to the accompaniment of the beating of drums and of the playing of other kinds of music. For this performance, they are paid *bakhshish* or reward in money.

The ornaments and the weapons, which are usually worn and carried by these dancers, are detailed below :—

(1) In case the dancers are masked, two artificial hands are tied on to the sides of each dancer's shoulder, these hands being adorned with bangles, and armed with weapons of defence.

(2) Two wooden or brass swords with blunt edges are held in the dancer's two natural hands.

The brandishing of these swords, in a peculiar way, and in unison with the corresponding movements of the body and the shuffling of the feet, constitutes the *nautch* or dance.

(3) A chaplet of artificial human skulls, especially made for this occasion, is placed round the neck of each dancer.

(4) Each dancer is rigged out with such ornaments as are usually put on the image of the goddess *Kali*.

For three consecutive days and nights, the dance or *Kali-nautch* is held, after which the participators in the *nautch* assemble in the house of the *Mātbar* or headman of the village. There a feast is held, the expenses of which are met from the fund collected from that village.

Another curious dance which is known as the *Siva-Gauri* dance, is also performed, along with the *Kali-nautch*, by these people in honor of the god *Siva*. Before the dancers come out for the purpose of dancing, they worship the god *Siva*. Thereafter two dancers, one dressed as *Siva* and the other as *Pārvati*, go from house to house and dance before each house to the accompaniment of the beating of

drums and the playing of other kinds of music. These two dancers put on the characteristic dress and carry the prescribed weapons of the god Siva and of his spouse *Pārvatī* and, thereby, lend a touch of picturesqueness to their dances.

PART II

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS

on the Kali-Nautch.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A.

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From a careful study of the preceding notes on *Kali-nautch*, I am of opinion that this *nautch* is a ceremonial dance which the performers thereof dance before the goddess *Kālī* in fulfilment of vows taken by them to do so in the event of their recovery from illness.

We know well that, in ancient times, dancing was looked upon as a primitive form of prayer. Even at the present day, among peoples living on a low plane of culture, it is the medicine-men or the priests that dance before their deities.

This practice has been prevalent in every age and country. We find it recorded in the sacred Book of Samuel (VI. 14) that King "David danced before the Lord with all his might." We also know from the testimony of the sacred books of the other nations of antiquity that their people used to go in procession, singing and dancing, to the temples of Rome, of Greece, and of Babylon.

It would appear that the Yorkshire apprentices used to dance in the nave of the York Minster on Shrove Tuesday ; but this custom has now fallen into desuetude.

Similarly, at Echternach in Germany, the people annually perform a dance in the streets to commemorate the introduction into their country of Christianity by Saint Willibrord. This annual dance is known as the dancing procession of the "Jumping Saints" and takes place on Whit Monday. Then again, a ritual dance is performed before the High Altar in the Cathedral at Seville in Spain, on the occasion of the Corpus Christi Festival. Furthermore, at Nola and other towns in Southern Italy, images and shrines are annually carried in procession through the streets, and dances are performed before them. This Italian custom has its parallel in the Indian practice of bringing out the gods themselves in palanquins to take part in *Raghunāth's*¹ festival dance during the great fair in Kulu. Similar ceremonial dances are also performed in connection with the worship of the deity Dharma *Thakura* (धर्म ठाकुर) in the district of Murshidabad in North-Western Bengal. In every village in the *Kāndi* Subdivision of the said district, the worship of the aforementioned deity, who is no other than a debased prototype of Buddha, is performed on the full-moon day in the Bengali month of *Baisakha* (April-May) and, occasionally, on the same day in the Bengali month of *Jyāishṭha* (May-June). Mostly people

¹ *The Handbook of Folklore.* By Miss C. S. Burne, London; Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd. 1914. Page 249.

belonging to the lower classes of the village-community take the vow to become the devotees (*सन्नायी*) of the deity *Dharma-Thākura* on the occasion of the latter's full-moon festival (*गाछन*).

The vigil is kept in the night previous to the full-moon day. In the night-time of the vigil-day, the temple and its surrounding area become over-crowded with the village-people and resound with the rub-a-dub-dub of drums and the din of sight-seers. From time to time, songs known as the 'Bolana-gīta' (*बोछन-गीत*) are sung. Towards the small hours of the morning, the worshippers or devotees put on masks (*मुछोच्*) of hideous shapes, and dance. This is known as Mask-dancing (*मुछोच्-खेला*).

Toward the close of night, that is to say, at about the dawning of the day, the ceremony of 'corpse-dancing' (*महा-खेला*) is performed. This ceremony is similar to the corpse-dancing that is performed in honour of the deity *Mahādeva* or *Siva*, and may be described as follows:—

At the time of the corpse-dancing, the devotees or celebrants of the worship, who are known as the '*Kālikāra Pātā*' (*कालिका र पाता*) put on the garbs of witches (*झाकिनी*), sit round about a human corpse and, sometimes, even sit on it and on its head. They dally with the corpse, recite *Mantrams*, sing songs, and dance to the accompaniment of the rub-a-dub-dub of drums.²

² *Vide* my article *On the Vestiges of Buddhism in the District of Murshidabad (Bengal)* In *The Hindustan Review* (Allahabad) for September 1920, pp. 195—197.

Then again, similar corpse-dancing and masked dances are performed in connection with the worship of the goddess Ādyā or Ādyā-devī in the district of Māldā in Northern Bengal. It is stated that, when Buddhism degenerated into its Tāntrik form, this goddess named Ādyā, along with the other gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, were introduced into it.

It is further stated that, in many places in the district of Māldā, Corpse-dancing is performed on the occasion of the Siva-gājana Festival. At this time, the devotees or *Samnyāsīs* of Siva carry on their persons corpses and human skulls and, in this state, perform various kinds of dances.³

Then again, in the same district, a ceremony called the Lesser Sports“(छोट नाचा)” is performed in connection with the worship of the goddess Ādyā-devī. In the night-time of the day set apart for the performance of this ceremony, persons wearing masks representing the goddesses Kālīkā and Chāmunda, the god Narasimha, the goddess Bāsuli, the god Siva, the semi-divine heroes Rāma and Lakshmana, the monkey-god Hanumāna, two personages named *Burḍā Burdhī*, the war-god Kārttika, ghosts and demons, and the horse, perform dances. These masks are made of the wood of the Neem-tree (*Azadirachta nidica*) and, sometimes, of clay. In the olden times, wooden masks were exclusively used. Before a devotee can dance with a new mask on, he has to go to the priest

³ The Bangaya-Sahitya-Parishat-Patrika. (The Journal of the Academy of Bengali Literature at Calcutta), Vol. XVI. (1316 B. S.) Pp. 51.53.

in the *gambhīrā* or temple and get the said mask endowed by him with life.

In ancient times, those persons who used to dance wearing masks representing the gods and goddesses, especially Kālī, *Chāmundā*, Vāsulī, Nara-simha and so on, had to abstain from partaking of oil and the like and to live upon meals composed of cooked sun-dried rice, clarified butter and boiled vegetables (*हविष्यान्न*). They had to think pure thoughts and to rig themselves out in sanctified clothing. After they had fulfilled all these conditions, they become entitled to perform the ritual dances. It is stated that these rules of abstinence are no longer observed in many places.

The man, who wears the mask of the goddess Kālī, ties four wooden hands to his shoulders, and the man representing *Chāmundā* holds in his hands a sacrificial knife (*kharga*) and live pigeons. While the principal devotee, who has to wear a mask representing the monkey-god Hanumāna, performs dances simulating the crossing of the ocean, and the setting fire to the city of Lanka. Lastly, the persons who represent Siva and Parvatī dance quietly.*

Then again, on the day fixed for the performance of the ceremony known as the *Barā Tamāsā* [बड़ा लड़ावा or "the Bigger Sport"] the deities Hara and Gaurī are worshipped with the usual rites. After mid-day, the devotees or *Sanyāsīs*, who rig themselves out in the guise of ghosts, demons, jugglers,

* *Op. cit.*, Vol. XVI., page 59.

Santals and the like, start in procession from every *gambhirā* or temple, and dance to the accompaniment of the rub-a-dub-dub of the drums. Some of the devotees run trident-like arrows through both sides of their bodies and, wrapping up the trident-heads with old rags, set fire to the same; while another person throws incense thereupon. With these fires lighted upon their persons, these devotees perform their dances. The ceremony is brought to a close, in the night-time, by the dancing of the principal devotee who wears a mask representing the monkey-god *Hanumāna*.⁵

Masked dances and corpse-dancing, similar to those which are prevalent in the districts of *Māldā* and *Murshidābād*, are also current in the districts of Burdwan in Western Bengal, and of the 24 Parganas in Southern Bengal.

There is a deity named *Isānesvara* in the village of *Kudmun* in the district of Burdwan. This god appears to be an incarnation of the deity *Siva*. In a neighbouring village named *Sonā Palāsi* in the same district, there is another deity named *Burā Siva* who, as his name indicates, is another incarnation of *Siva*. The worship-festival (*gājana*) in honour of *Isānesvara* commences from the 13th of the Bengali month of Chaitra (March-April).

People of all castes can become the devotees (or *Sannyāsīs*) of the deity *Isānesvara*. These devotees are divided into the following five classes :— (1) *Smasana Sannyāsī* (*সমাধান সন্ন্যাসী*);

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Vol. XVI, page 72.

(2) *Dhūla Sapaṭ* (धूल सापट); (3) *Jala Sāpaṭa* (जल सापट); (4) *Phula Sannyāsī* (फूल सन्यासी); and (5) *Mānasika* (मानसिक). Every one of these five classes has a different duty to perform in connection with the deity's worship-festival⁶.

On the 27th of Chaitra, the *Sannyāsīs* of village *Kudmun* go dancing from the temple of *Isānesvara* to the shrine of *Burā Siva* in the neighbouring village of *Sonā Palāsi* and, having arrived there, embrace the devotees of the latter deity. With the procession is carried the image of *Isānesvara Siva* in a small palanquin⁷.

On the following day, i. e., on the 28th Chaitra, all the *Sannyāsīs* or devotees have their bodies and faces painted with various kinds of colours and, having assumed the guises of ghosts, demons and three-eyed beings, and wearing garlands of paper-flowers, and arming themselves with blunt swords and bamboo *lāṭhis*, dance to the accompaniment of the rub-a-dub-dub of drums and go in procession⁸.

Similarly, at the temple of the deity *Burā Siva* in Tollyganj in the district of 24 Parganas in Southern Bengal, all the *Sannyāsīs* or devotees from various localities in the neighbourhood thereof dance and sing on the night previous to the *Nīla-Pūja* day⁹.

Corpse-dancing is also indulged in by the devotees at the temple of *Isānesvara* in village

⁶ Vide the *Bangiya-Sahitya-Parishat-Patrika* (The Journal of the Academy of Bengali Literature at Calcutta), Vol. XVIII., (for 1318 B. S.), pages 206-209.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, Vol. XVIII., pages 208-209.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, XVIII., page 209.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. XVIII., page 209.

Kudmun in the district of Burdwan. On the night of the 29th Chaitra, after the *pūjā* of the deity has been finished, the *Sannyāsīs*, arming themselves with drawn swords and taking human skulls in their hands, dance to the accompaniment of rub-a-dub-dub of drums and sing a song beginning with the words :—

“धर धर धर सहार माया”

or

“O ! catch hold, catch hold, catch hold of the corpse’s skull.” ¹⁰

The dances besides being ceremonial or ritual, that is to say, in addition to their being indulged in for the purpose of showing honour to some god or goddess, sometimes express certain prominent emotions of the performers’ hearts. On this point, Miss C. S. Burne says,—“Or the dance [may have an ethical value, as in the Singing-combat, the drum-dance, whereby the West Greenlanders settle their quarrels. The Vedda and the Fuegian will dance to express gratitude; the upper Kutenai in British Columbia dance when they gamble.” ¹¹

The modern Persians also express their feelings of appreciation of a musical performance by dancing round the performer. As regards this, Dr. E. G. Browne of the University of Cambridge (England), who sojourned for a year amongst the Persians, says : “As a rule, music is provided for the entertainment of the guests (at the dinner-party).

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, Vol. XVIII., page 209.

¹¹ *The Handbook of Folklore.* By Miss C. S. Burne. London : Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd. 1914. Page 250.

The musicians are usually three in number; one plays a stringed instrument (the *si-tār*); one a drum (*dunbak*), consisting of an earthen-ware frame work, shaped something like a huge egg-cup, and covered with parchment at one end only; the third sings to the accompaniment of his fellow-performers. Sometimes dancing-boys are also present, who excite the admiration and applause of the spectators by their elaborate posturing, which is usually more remarkable for acrobatic skill than for grace, at any rate according to our ideas. These, however, are more often seen in *Shiráz* than at *Teherán*. Occasionally the singer is a boy, and if his voice be sweet and his appearance comely, he will be greeted with rapturous applause. At one entertainment to which I had been invited *the guests were so moved by the performance of the boy-singer that they all joined hands and danced round him in a circle, chanting in a kind of monotonous chorus, Bārak alláh, Kúchukí, Bārak alláh, (God bless thee, little one. God bless thee, little one !)*, till sheer exhaustion compelled them to stop."¹²

I think that the performers of the *Kālī-nautch* in the district of Dacca give expression, by their dancing, to their feelings of gratitude to the goddess *Kālī* for their recovery from illness.

I shall conclude these notes by saying a few words about the origin of the hook-swinging festival or the *Níla pūjā*. Although the hook-swinging festival is known under its Bengali appellation of *Charaka-pūjā*, this latter term is not to be found

¹² *A Year Amongst the Persians*, By Edward G. Browne, M. A., M. B. London: Adam and Charles Black. 1893. Pages 108-110.

in the *Sāstras* ; nor are any rules prescribed therein for its performance. We, however, come across the undermentioned account in the *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa*, of the worship of a deity named *Nīlāhita* on the *Mahāviśuva Day* or the *Chait Samkrānti Day*, that is to say, on the last day of the Bengali month of Chaitra (March-April) :—

चैत्रे मासि तस्य ब्रतविधानं यथा :—

“चैत्रे शिवोत्सवं कुर्यान्वृत्त्यग्रीत महोत्सवेः ।

चात्वा त्रिषाध्यं रात्रौ च इविष्याग्नी जिसेन्द्रियः ॥

किमलभ्यं भगवति प्रसन्ने नीललोहिते ।

उपोष्य हुत्वा संक्रान्त्या ब्रतमेतत् समर्पयेत् ॥ ”

इति मासकृत्ये बृहद्ब्रम् पुराणम् ।

Translation.

The worship of the deity *Nīlāhita* is prescribed as follows in the *Bṛhad-dharmma Purāṇa*. :—

Having been abstinent in all respects and having partaken of a *haviṣhya meal* (*i. e.*, a meal composed of cooked Sun-dried rice, clarified butter and boiled vegetables and pulse-pastes), having bathed thrice in the day-time and once in the night, (the celebrant) should perform, in the month of Chaitra (March-April), the worship-festival of the god Siva by indulging in singing, dancing and other special forms of merry-making. If the deity *Nīlāhita* becomes favourably disposed (towards the celebrant), (the latter) will obtain every kind of good. Fasting on the *Samkrānti day* (*i. e.*, the last day) of the month of Chaitra (March-April) and having performed the *yajña-sacrifice*, this *vrata* (or folk-rite) should be finished¹³.

¹³ Vide the article (in Bengali) on “*Charaka vā nīla mūlatattva*” in the Bengali monthly magazine *Bhūrati* for Bhādra 1321 B. S] pages 447-476.

The name Nilalohita clearly alludes to Siva. In the Sanskrit dictionaries also the word *Nilalohita* is mentioned as a synonym of Siva. The term *Nilā-pūja* is, therefore, clearly a contraction or abbreviation of the word *Nilalohita-pūja* or the worship of the deity Nilalohita or Siva.

Mr. Dharendra Nath Mazumdar mentions *Paṭa-puja* as a synonym of *Nilā-pūja*. The question, therefore, arises whether the word *Paṭa* is a synonym of the term *Nila* (*Nilalohita Siva*). I think that further researches are required on the point.

The *Nilā-pūja* is generally known to the people of Bengal under the name of *Charaka*. The following question, therefore, naturally suggests itself to us: Whence has the word *Charaka* come to us?

To answer this question, we must examine the religious practices of the Buddhists. We know that, among the Buddhists also, there is prevalent a festival named *Choraga* or *Chora* (चोड़ा or चोड़) which is nothing more or less than the Devil dancing of the Tibetans. This festival is held by the Buddhist Lamas at Himis, in Ladakh, Sikkim and Bhutan on the last day of the year.

The author of the Bengali Encyclopædia entitled *Visvakosha* is of opinion that this Buddhist festival named *Choraga* or *Chora* is now known in Bengal as the *Charaka*. It is stated that, during the palmy days of Buddhism in Bengal, the *Sramanas* or the Buddhist monks used to celebrate this festival. In those days, the Buddhist kings, as also their subjects of every class and rank in life, used to congregate together as spectators at these festivals

and to evince the greatest interest in them. On the occasion of this festival, the *Sramanas* used to disguise themselves in various kinds of garbs and to indulge in little bits of acting. At this festival, the deities Dharmaraj and Mahākāla were worshipped with great *eclat*. The Bengali term *Charaka* has been borrowed from the Buddhist festival-name *Charaga*. It is further stated that the various kinds of garbs and masked dresses worn by the *Sannyasis* or devotees of Siva on the occasion of the *Charaka-pūja* are mere survivals, in modern Bengal, of the masked dancing indulged in by the Buddhist *Sramanas* of the olden times at their *Choraga*-festival. ¹⁴

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, page 475.

V. THE LESSON OF THE RED MAN.

By J. P. MILLS, M. A., I. C. S.

When the 'pale faces' landed on the shores of the New World four hundred and thirty years ago they found themselves in a land peopled by a numerous race living in prosperous, well-organized social groups. It is significant that a book¹ of 450 pages suffices to describe the present state of the scattered remnants of those once mighty tribes, so uniform has been their treatment and its results. The story is a harrowing one and not without interest to ethnologists in India, where in many places the unregulated introduction of alien culture threatens to destroy in a generation the social organization which primitive tribes have built up on the foundations of of age-long experience.

The dealings of the white man with Red Indians fall into three periods marked by the policy pursued in each, namely Extermination, Segregation and Assimilation. The first settlers were received as friends by the Indians, and the Pilgrim Fathers of the *May-Flower* owed their lives to the generosity of Massasoit, an Indian Chief. On his son their successors made treacherous war. For gratitude was short-lived and greed for land quickly took its place. Immigrants streamed steadily into the country and the owners of the soil were ousted from

¹ "*The Red Man in the United States* by G. E. E. Lindquist.
(George H. Doran & Co., New York.)

their homes. They retaliated and were treated as vermin. The catch-phrase "The only good Sujun is a dead Sujun" sums up the history of the next three hundred years. Solemn treaties were made with Indians guaranteeing their rights in the soil for ever, only to be treated as scraps of paper when the white men wanted more land. To this day the Navajo is being ousted from his ancestral domain by ranchers, who regard him as a trespasser.² He is too weak to fight, but in the past there were many bitter wars in which the Red Man was always beaten and forced to flee further and further towards the west before the on-coming tide, in turn pressing on and disturbing hitherto untouched tribes.

This state of things could not go on for ever and a period of Segregation set in. Indians were forcibly removed from their homes and settled on Reservations to fend for themselves. The land was not selected on the principle of what was most suitable to the Indians, but on that of what was least useful to the settlers. Sometimes no Reservations were granted at all. In 1851 and 1852 the Government of the United States made treaties by which tribes of Californian Indians numbering two-hundred thousand souls gave up their rights in land in return for a promise of Reservation aggregating seven and a half million acres to be set apart for the sole use of the Indians for ever. The treaties were never ratified by the Senate and *were filed for fifty years*. By that time the problem

² Lindquist, *Op. cit* p. 277.

had nearly solved itself, for the landless, starving Indians had been reduced to between fifteen and twenty thousand. Four thousand five hundred of them have been allotted eight thousand five hundred acres.³ The rest are presumably still landless.

This system of Reservations failed, as was only natural. Settled against their will on unfamiliar soil, often after several compulsory moves, the Indians lost all ambition and interest in life. They were not sufficiently protected from the vices and diseases of the white man. Hunting tribes could support themselves by the chase because the areas were too small and the buffalo upon which they had depended was on the way to extinction, and agriculturalists often found that barren land was their portion. It was therefore decided to absorb the Indian into the ordinary population of the United States, and the present period of Assimilation began. The Reservations were opened to settlers and the Indian urged to become an ordinary squatter. The policy is clear. There is no longer room for the Indian to live as an Indian. He must be denationalised and reduced to the drab level of the population around him, he must forget his past and be content with a few acres of land, his ambition must be a moral life in a sanitary house with a sufficiency of dollars. No wonder many full-blood Indians are still *laudatores temporis acti*. Mr. Lindquist's book illustrates well the official attitude towards the Indians. To him the Red

³ Lindquist, *Op. cit* pp. 359, 360.

Man's religion is superstition, which no fewer than twenty-seven different denominations are attempting to eradicate ; no marriage by Indian custom is "legal", tribal dances are "injurious to industry", presents at feasts "lead to pauperization," for a returned student to live as his forefathers lived before him and "go back to the blanket" is to be an object of scorn ; where, as among the Pueblos, the native form of government still survives, it is described as a "menace to advancement". Nor does the State stop at moral pressure. No Indian is granted the rights of citizenship unless he breaks away from his tribal organization and in certain cases local payments are withheld from men who dare marry according to their ancestral custom.

The wide spaces over which the Indian roamed are lost to him for ever. The alternatives are Segregation and Assimilation. The former of these has failed, though with large enough areas of suitable land and strict exclusion of foreigners it would probably have succeeded. The second alternative is now being tested. What will be its results ? The Indians in the United States are no longer dying out. Indeed they are slowly increasing in number and now total 340,000. Whether the assimilated remnants of the race will continue to increase remains to be seen. In any case they must soon cease to be Indians in anything but blood. Individuals will doubtless flourish and grow rich and prosperous, but the Red Men, as a nation, can never hope to contribute anything to the world. The race from which sprang in the past men unrivalled in bravery, generosity and loyalty must, unless extin-

guished by absorption, live for ever as the Jews do, a nation apart with no national life in which it may display its qualities.

It is not yet too late to apply the moral of this melancholy story to this situation in parts of India today. There are still in places such as Assam primitive hill tribes living the life which centuries of experience have shown to be best suited to their environment. But two dangers threaten them. Some are unlucky enough to live where coal and oil are found, and there is grave risk that the land which now grows rice may some day be taken to produce dividends for share-holders. If the demands of commercial progress are too imperious to be denied, the tribesmen should, if possible, be given suitable land near in the few places where it is available, and the mistakes of the Reservation policy of the United States avoided. I emphasise that the land must be near, to plant a village of one tribe on the land of a distant and alien tribe is to court disaster. Failing suitable land in the same tribal area, adequate yearly compensation from royalties is the only alternative. But it is a bad one, which is almost bound to tend to idleness and degradation. The second danger which threatens these primitive folk is a greater, because a more insidious one. Under the pretext of "civilizing influences" certain organizations are pursuing towards the hill tribes a policy of denationalisation and assimilation very similar to that which is being carried out towards the Red Man in the United States. Not only is it unnecessary, for there are still ample areas left which are never

likely to be taken from them where the hill tribes can live their own lives undisturbed, but its results are likely to be even more disastrous than in America.

In the New World the Red Indian is living side by side with the white man in an environment and climate where the white man can flourish and grow rich. Given similar education and training there is no reason why the Indian should not gain equal wealth. His nation, as a nation, will perish but the individual will doubtless survive. Not so with the hill man. His tribal life is being deliberately undermined and he is being assimilated to a mythical being with a culture in some respects resembling that of the European and in other respects that of the inhabitant of the adjoining plains. Now the Red Indian is being assimilated to a people who can make an excellent living out of the environment in which he lives. But the hill man lives in a country where the mythical model to which he is being assimilated must either be fed by others or perish. The hillman wins livelihood in the only way he can—by cultivating the steep hillsides. His dress and general culture are adapted to the life. Neither the European nor the plainsman nor the hybrid of the two could stand the life for a year. Nor can the hillman when he changes his culture. "Civilized" specimens of the tribes, far from making two blades of rice grow where only one grew before, almost invariably become parasitic on the community and are content to wait for "suitable appointments entailing no manual labour." They are not to be blamed too severely, for the alien habits and ideas with which they have been imbued are wholly unsuited to the country in

which they live. A community can support a certain number of "misfits" of this kind, but only a certain number. Were a whole tribe, or even a large proportion of its members, to adopt these ways it would become extinct. What greater folly then than to offer to a people a culture which, if assimilated by all, would spell racial suicide? Would that those responsible for this policy would see the error of their ways before it is too late. Times change and no one pretends that the primitive hillman can be kept as a museum specimen. But blindly to destroy in a few years what it has taken generations to build up and to sweep away his old habits and customs, good and bad alike, just because they are old is to court disaster. There must be something sound in the old tribal life or it could not have withstood the winds of centuries. Let would-be reformers not destroy it, but rather seek out the sound core and strengthen it that it may not break before the storms of modern days, but rather flourish the more. Range upon range of glorious hills will stand for ever as they stand today. Shall they hold nothing but a few remnants of the tribes, their old well-tested culture gone and their new ways hopelessly ill adapted to their stern home, or shall they hold a proud and vigorous people with a culture modified perhaps, but based on the old foundations which have stood the test of time so well, a race well fitted in the years to come to add a not inglorious page to History? The choice lies with us today.

VI. ON THE CULT OF THE GODDESS MAGADHESVARI IN THE DISTRICT OF CHITTAGONG IN EASTERN BENGAL.

BY RAJENDRA KUMAR BHATTACHARJYA, M. A.

In Chittagong and the neighbouring districts in Eastern Bengal, there is an interesting cult prevalent which shows evidently a mixture of several strata of culture. There are many Buddhists still in Chittagong and they as well as the Hindus still devoutly believe in the omnipotence of the goddess named "*Magadhesvari*". As I have showed later on, the Hindus appear to have borrowed the cult from the Buddhists.

It is not yet possible to find out the original legends connected with the evolution of this cult. But the following has been gathered by me from the people of the locality. It is said that, once upon a time, the goddess "*Adyasakti*" (Primal Energy), wished to be incarnated amongst the Buddhists, who are called Maghs in Chittagong, in order to put on their tribal wearing apparel and ornament, to wit the "*Thāmeē*" and the queer-shaped earrings called "*Nālhāng*" which are still worn by Buddhist females. Accordingly she was incarnated in a human form as the daughter of Lakshmi, a righteous king of Roshāng, a place to the south of Chittagong. It is said that her divine nature was revealed. Soon it came to be believed in the locality that she possessed magical and superhuman powers of healing various kinds of diseases and of obviating the vicissitudes and the difficulties of human life.

Whenever people suffer from any kind of disease, fall into dangers or are overtaken by an epidemic, they take vows to make offering of a jet-black she-goat to the goddess *Magadhesvari*. As soon as they are cured or relieved, they prepare for the sacrifice. But it is only on Tuesdays and Saturdays, preferably of the dark lunar fortnight, that the sacrifice is offered at noon.

No matter whether he be a Brahman or Sudra, any body who is not thoroughly conversant with the mysteries of the cult, is not allowed to take part in this worship. Usually three such qualified persons only take part in the performance of this ceremony.

The materials required for the offering are the following:— (1) a *seer* and quarter of *Atap* (un-boiled and sun-dried) rice ; (2) a quarter of a *seer* of paste made of green turmeric and onion pounded together and then mixed with mustard oil ; (3) 20 or 25 red *Javā* flowers (*Hibiscus rosusensis*) ; (4) a curiously shaped flat basket with four handles made of strips of cane (which basket must be made by the three aforementioned performers of the worship) ; (5) four short and pointed sticks made of the branches of a tree especially of that kind known as "*māṇḍāra*". These sticks have to be stuck upright into the ground and from the topmost ends the aforesaid flat basket is suspended by its handles ; (6) two thin spits made of bamboo for the purpose of roasting the pieces of flesh of the sacrificed victim upon ; (7) four plantain leaves ; (8) some dried sticks of the

jute-plant; (9) a lamp; (10) incense; and (11) a jet-black she-goat with newly sprouting horns and having no spots on its skin.

On a Saturday or a Tuesday of the dark lunar fortnight, the three aforementioned performers of the worship go to the house of the celebrant and take from him the aforesaid objects of offering and convey the same to the open courtyard of his house. This courtyard is made neat and clean by being besmeared with water mixed with cowdung. After all this has been done, the sacred and open place called the *Shebākhala* by the villagers and situated on the outskirts of the village, is also swept and cleansed and is then besmeared with cowdung steeped in water. This spot is always considered sacred and its pollution and profanation even on other occasions, is strictly forbidden.

On the day of the worship, the jet-black she-goat is taken to a neighbouring pond and bathed therein and the three performers of the worship also bathe and come with their wet clothes on. The things to be offered are also washed, the plantain leaves are spread on the basket and the rice offerings are piled over these leaves together with the 20 or 25 Java flowers. Then water is poured over the head of the celebrant who afterwards washes the feet of the sacrificial goat with the water dripping from his or her own wet locks. One of the cult-priests takes the aforesaid goat to the afore-mentioned flat basket and seizing it by the head, holds it over the same, while the feet of the victim are held by another cult-priest. While the goat is held in this position over the basket, the

third and the chief performer of the worship cuts off the beast's head by sawing the throat with a well-sharpened *dā* or bill-hook, and allows all the blood to fall on the basket and thereby to besmear its contents.

After all this has been done, the sacrificed goat is skinned off and the skin, legs and entrails are placed within the basket. The legs of the beast are allowed to hang down from the four corners of the basket. Then some small pieces of the meat are cut off, spiked on the aforesaid bamboo-spits and roasted on a fire which is kindled at that time. Thereafter the spits with the pieces of meat attached thereto, are placed on the right and left sides inside the basket. The remainder of the meat of the sacrificed victim, is placed on a bell-metal platter containing the aforementioned paste of green turmeric, onion and mustard oil, and is regarded as very sacred. The basket containing the aforesaid offerings, is then dedicated to the goddess *Magadhesvari* to the accompaniment of the recital of *Mantras* or prayer formulæ, to the presentation of the leaves of the "*Sacred Tulasi* (*Ocimum Sanctum*) and of the holy water and to the burning of incense and dried sticks of the jute-plants.

Then the chief-priest places the basket of offerings upon his head and goes to the sacred spot called "*Shebākhala*". On reaching there, he suspends the basket by its four handles from the topmost ends of the aforesaid poles which are stuck upright into the ground. Again he dedicates the offering to the goddess *Magadhesvari* in the abovementioned fashion. It must be stated here that the celebrant

and his family members and other participants in this worship, accompany the chief cult-priest to the *Shevākhala* and remain present there while the latter is performing the above rite.

It is believed that if the offerings are accepted by the goddess, vultures will at once come and swoop down upon the exposed offerings with harsh screams.

After leaving the basket of offerings exposed there, the priest accompanied by the celebrants and other participants in this worship, go to a little distance and stand there to watch whether or not the offerings are accepted by the goddess. In the mean time, the celebrant of the worship prostrates himself or herself upon the ground and recites the following prayers:—"Oh mother *Magadhesvari* remove all my troubles and tribulations, accept my humble offering, be pleased to pardon me if I have committed any fault'".

Strangely enough vultures come flying from all directions generally and swoop down upon the offerings exposed and partake of the same. This is looked upon as a favourable omen by the assembled cult-priests and worshippers who being highly pleased, under the belief that the goddess has accepted their offerings, return home, cook the remnants of the sacrificed meat and dine off the same with great hilarity.

But it happens sometimes that not a single vulture would come to make a meal of the exposed offerings even if the same be left exposed at the *Shevākhala* for several days together. It has curiously enough been found that not even a jackal, nor even an ant would come and partake of the

offerings, if there be any fault in the worship. All this is taken by the celebrants of the worship as an unfavourable omen, indicating that the goddess *Magadhesvari* has not been pleased to accept their offerings.

REMARKS.

This cult of the goddess *Magadhesvari* which is prevalent in the district of Chittagong in Eastern Bengal, is a very curious one. It was most probably borrowed by the Hindus from the Buddhists during the period when the Buddhist faith was at the height of its ascendancy, not only in Magadha and the provinces to the north-west of Bengal but also in the whole of Bengal itself and its adjacent districts to the north, east and the south. But when the Renaissance Period of Hinduism was ushered into Āryyābartta, under the lead of the greatest Hindu philosopher *Sankārāchārjya*, his philosophic discourses exercised such a mystic influence over the Hindu population that the Buddhists were compelled to take refuge in such out-of-the-way places as those which lie to the south-east of Bengal.

2. The very name *Magadhesvari* indicates that this cult must have had its origin in Magadha or South Bihar where, during the Pre-Renaissance Period of Hinduism, Buddhism flourished in all its pristine vigour. It may be stated here that similar names of goddesses derived from the names of places in which their cults are still prevalent, are yet in existence in many parts of Bengal. As for instance, the name *Dacceswari* of Dacca, signifies "the goddess of Dacca"; the name "*Chattessvari*" of Chittagong, implies "the goddess of Chittagong"; the name

"*Tripureswari of Tripura*" means "*the goddess of Tripura*"; and the name "*Kamakhyadevi*", of Kamakhya or Kamrup, indicates the "*goddess of Kamakhya*."

3. Another piece of evidence that the "*cult of Magadhesvari*" has been borrowed by the Hindus from the Buddhists, is to be found in the fact that the word *Thāmee* means *a kind of thick cloth of a peculiar texture* and the word *Nāthāng* signifies *a kind of earring of a queer shape*. These kinds of wearing apparel and ornaments are still worn by the females of the Buddhist sectarians of Chittagong, who are called *Maghs*. These they put on in order to show their respect for *Magadhesvari*; but curiously enough the Hindu females who have borrowed this cult from their Buddhist neighbours do not put on this sort of cloth and ear-rings.

4. The mention of Javā flowers which are used in the worship of the various incarnations of the goddess "*Sakti*" (Primal Energy), such as *Kālī*, *Durgā* and so forth, leads me to think that the goddess "*Magadhesvari*" may be an *incarnation of Sakti* and therefore delights in the bloody sacrifice.

5. Another peculiarity of this cult is the sacrifice of a jet-black she-goat instead of a he-goat which latter is usually sacrificed to other gods and goddesses by the Hindus. Such a kind of offering is not to be found anywhere else and is not sanctioned by the Vedic and Pauranic scriptures of the Hindus.

6. The offering of slices cut off from the sacrificed victim and roasted on bamboo spits on a fire at the time of the sacrifice, reminds one of the cooked viands and other delicacies which are still offered to the gods and goddesses by the Hindus. This

practice is also followed even by the primitive tribes.

7. Another interesting feature of this cult is the belief that the goddess "*Magadheswari*" assuming the guise of vultures, comes to accept the food offerings which are to be exposed in the above-said sacred place.

The above mode of sacrifice reminds me of some of the different modes of sacrifices enumerated in *Burne's Hand Book of Folklore* pp. 99-100 where it is mentioned that the mode of sacrifice "by which an offering is supposed to be conveyed to the gods or goddesses, varies much, either according to the residence of the deity in question or else to the conception of the godhead entertained by the worshippers. Sacrifices to the earth-god or goddesses may be buried in the fields or thrown down precipices into clefts, or ravines. Those to etherial and celestial gods, may be burnt to ascend to the skies in smoke. Or the skin of the victim may be draped upon the image of the god, or the god's portion of the sacrifice may be exposed in the expectation that he will come, as in the story of *Bel and the Dragon*, and devour it secretly; or he may simply partake of the spirit of it, as the ancestral spirits of the Zulus were supposed to do by licking it".

VI. CUSTOMS AND TABUS OBSERVED BY AN EAST BENGAL WOMAN FROM PREGNANCY TO CHILDBIRTH.

DHIRENDRA NATH MAJUMDER, M. A.

The customs and tabus that are observed by a woman in the family way are many and varied and are determined by the local area the woman belongs to. Again they are more strict in villages than in towns—where the people are more practical and do not indulge in ‘useless, observances. Of late these customs and tabus are fast dying out and even in remote villages the people show an attitude of indifference to them—customs that were observed in our family some 12 to 15 years ago, have passed into oblivion and the present ladies of the family, when asked, display an ignorance which can only be accounted for by their want of training. Like the hymns of the Vedas—which were the memory work of the sages and which were handed down from generation to generation, these customs are handed down from generation to generation—and are preserved by the female members of the family. Women, as we all know, are very conservative, hence we find the same primitive customs, rather survivals, which distinguish an aboriginal tribe from a cultured one, still run down to the present time. Here it is to be noted that by following these customs and observances—we are not to understand that the same state of culture has remained intact up till the present but they are survivals and the more often we meet

them the more we are convinced that as regards our mental evolution we have progressed but little. Leaving aside this digressions, I proceed to the subject-matter of my paper.

During the first few months of pregnancy the members of the house are all attention to the lady, all her needs are promptly attended to, all her desires are satisfied, all her curiosities explained and the members undergo any amount of personal inconvenience to render her every possible comfort.

In the fifth, seventh and ninth months of pregnancy, festivals (*Sāds*) are held, known as Panchāmritā, Saptāmritra and Navāmrita respectively. In the fifth month of pregnancy, the lady is ceremonially bathed, and clothed in new garments (red-bordered *Sārī*), partakes of sweetmeats specially prepared for her and indulges in lively discourses with pleasant companions such as brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. Sweetmeats are prepared with the following five materials known as the five *amritas* or nectars—milk, sugar, ghee, curd and honey. An auspicious day is always an essential feature of the ceremony: It must fall on a Sunday, Thursday or Friday and it must be held in the bright fortnight of the lunar month. The cost of the feast is borne by the relatives of the lady, and in large families the whole month is spent in festivities of this kind. The first *Sad* or feast is given by the mother of the woman, sweetmeats are piled up on a large dish and all the boys and girls of the house, even young men and young women with this woman in their centre, sit

around the dish and partake of the preparations together. In some quarters it is believed that the future member of the family will take the complexion and features of the boys and girls who eat with the future mother and, even to this day, children of dark complexion and ugly appearance are scrupulously avoided at the feast.

Similarly at *Saptāmrita* and *Navāmrita*, the same process is repeated. Besides the preparations mentioned above, choice foodstuffs are also given and the woman is supplied with all delicious things she loves to eat. 'Sādhantir Sād' is a commonplace saying in Bengali which means that at this stage she should be given all choice foods she has a hankering after—otherwise the future member of the family will have an unappeasing appetite.

There are two kinds of *Sād*,—*Kāchcha* and *Pākka*; when the feast is largely made up of fruits etc., it is called *Kāchcha* and when the main menu consists of sweetmeats or *Pāyas*—it is called *Pākka*; this distinction is nominal and in almost every *Sād* the two kinds of dishes play equal part.

The following are some of the tabus and rules observed by a woman in the family way :

She is not allowed to remain alone even in the day-time. She has to wear clean garments and her room or hut must always be kept neat and clean. The woman is not allowed to go to the bathing *ghāt* alone without being accompanied by other female members of the family;—she must not go untimely to the *ghāt*;—she is not allowed to touch unclean persons or to tread on unclean spots;—in case she cooks,

she should not do it alone; if a neighbour happens to die, she is not permitted to stir out of her bedroom at least for three days lest the ghost of the deceased person possess her. In case any newborn baby dies in the neighbourhood, the woman is not even allowed to walk in the common path which may be used by the mother of the deceased, and she will not take her meals at night. As soon as it is known that a lady is in the family way, she is required to finish her evening meal before dusk; and she is not allowed to eat twin (*jamaḡ*) plantains lest she should give birth to twin children.

It will not be out of place here to note a custom prevalent amongst the Hindus of Bengal at the time of the 'second marriage' ceremony or the ceremony observed on the occasion of a girl's attaining puberty (*द्वितीय विवाह*,—*द्वितीय विवाह*). On this occasion a little doll made of barley flour or powdered rice (*चाखिर गुन्डा*) is presented to the woman who is under seclusion and the doll is handled in such a way as to show exactly how a baby is taken care of. The doll is known as *Pōd* which might be a corruption of *Put*—the colloquial term for a son. At the first instance it is made to touch the abdomen of the woman—which means the conception of the child, then it is drawn straight down to the ground which means its birth, then it is suckled, nursed and at last placed on the lap of the woman. This custom is a phase of sympathetic magic and is similar to the custom of letting pass a stone down the side of the

abdomen practised by some of the Nilgiri tribes of Southern India.

The customs and tabus I have just mentioned are strictly adhered to in cases where the woman conceives for the first time—the tabus are less strict as the woman advances in years and as the number of children increases. Particular observances are noticed in cases when the woman gives birth to children who die as soon as they are born or when they are weaned. I have noticed a custom prevalent in the Sadar subdivision of the Dacca district—in a particular village—of letting loose in a tank a kind of small fish known as (জীয়া) *Jias* fish—which is derived from the Sanskrit 'जीयस्' meaning 'living'. The tank passes by the name of 'জীয়া পুকুর' or *Jias* tank. The woman who wants to see her child live and thrive—catches a fish of the kind and lets it loose in the tank with a vermilion spot on its forehead—uttering a Bengalee phrase which means that as the fish lives in the tank so let the child live and grow; vermilion is a sacred thing with the Hindus and the vermilion spot on the forehead of the fish indicates that the fish will be regarded by all as sacred; fishermen when they catch such fish do not destroy them but let them loose again live so that it may and die a natural death in the tank. Fishes with vermilion spots on the forehead can still be met with in old tanks—and they are regarded as sacred ones. Another large species of fish is the *gazār* fish—which is sacred to the Hindus and is not eaten by them though it is relished as a delicious dish by the Mahomedans.

In some villages it is strongly believed that the early death of children is due to certain violation of tabus by the mother and can be remedied by certain spells and incantations and by sacrifices and prayers and by offerings of *pujas* to evil spirits or demons supposed to cause such injuries. In village Dhurua, Police Station Nandail, District Mymensingh and adjoining villages—it is believed that an evil spirit which they call 'Tāgrā Tāgri' causes the death of the children, and a woman who wants to stop such premature death of her children should propitiate the spirit by *pujas* and sacrifices. 'Prāyaschitta' or propitiation is a common custom and is had recourse to in every Hindu family. The priest is called in and he invokes the good spirits to do away with the evil, Brahmans are fed in numbers and they are satisfied with *Dakshinas*, and their blessings thus secured help to withstand the evil eye of the spirit.

The tabus connected with the birth of a child and the consequent pollution are many and varied; children born on new moon days, Tuesdays and Saturdays are regarded as inauspicious and particular observances are prescribed to neutralise the evil eye of the spirits that are likely to possess such children. It is often found that a newborn baby catches cold and changes colour from red to yellow. This is ascribed to the possession of a spirit, and magicians are called in to counteract the charms of the spirit. The lying-in room is always provided with rusted or cast-out iron, torn slippers, mustard seeds, leaves of Nashin and Birshin plants etc. which are particularly efficacious

in scaring away spirits. Fire is kept up throughout day and night in front of the room and an earthen pot, usually a broken one thrown after use,—is painted with lime and soot and is placed at the entrance of the room; this pot is credited with the power to scare away spirits. The first three days after childbirth the mother is not allowed to stir out of the room—she has even to answer calls of nature within the room. After three days the mother may get out of the room to answer calls of nature but each time she enters the room she has to warm her hands and feet and touch iron, leather, mustard seeds and a broom-stick specially kept for the purpose; she is not allowed to take fish till the sixth day when she takes a ceremonial bath and wears a new cloth with a red border. Fish is the emblem of conjugal love and the ceremonial eating of fish by the mother is meant to symbolise wedded bliss which the woman longs to enjoy. It may be noted that not for a moment is she left alone in her lying-in room after the birth of a child.

When a woman reaches an advanced stage of pregnancy—the members of the family erect a hut for the woman in the family courtyard. The Toda woman, says Mrs. Burns in her *Handbook of Folklore*, gives birth to her child in her ordinary dwelling but she goes through two (in the first occasion, three) sojourns in a separate hut, one before and one after birth. Her husband and any one else who accompanies her the second time become 'unclean' thereby, and have to share her isolation.

Among the Masquakie Indians the woman builds a small hut and returns there when the birth approaches. If by mischance the birth-house is not ready her family leave her alone in the wigwam but this is a most unlucky contretemps for the baby will die before its parents if it has no house of its own, and to be born out of doors is a disgrace. The hut is generally made of thatch and straw—the most convenient materials for temporary purposes.

The hut should always face north or east and on no account is it erected with its front towards the south or the west. The reason for this may be that the South is generally regarded as the direction of Hell. The gates of Hell open towards the South. So it is found that a Hindu will never place a lamp with its burning flame pointing to the South.

There is an interesting story which explains why the hut is not constructed with its face to the west. Ganesha, son of Parvati by Siva, had his head cut off by Saturn—because he was sleeping with his head to the west. An elephant's head was then tacked on to Ganesha's body whence his present form. So, to a Hindu, to sleep with his head to the west is a terrible affair and this terror perhaps lies at the root of the idea that if the hut is erected with its face towards the west the inmates have reasons to apprehend harm. Thus both west and south are unlucky to a Hindu. The hut is sometimes erected facing east because it will receive the first rays of light from the Sun.

The Sixth day of the birth of a child witnesses

an interesting festival known as the '*Sashti*' (*ষষ্ঠী*) : It is the day when the Bidhātā Purusha writes the future of the child on its forehead and hence it is an auspicious day for the family. The Hindus like all Orientalists are proverbially fatalists. Every act, every deed, every trial, they attribute to the dispensation of the Fates ; so this *विधि-विधि* or the writing of the Bidhātā Purusha is an object of concern to every family. In the afternoon the babe's forehead is besmeared with oil and turmeric paste, a new cloth is provided for it—which it does not actually put on. Besides the cloth, 7 banyan leaves, an ink-pot, a pen, and a palm-leaf on which the names of seven gods are written, are kept in the lying-in room. (Seven is a sacred number). In the evening the villagers sing songs and hymns of praise to Narāyana better known as Hari Sankīrtan, and they are sumptuously fed by the family. After the Sankīrtan some eight kinds of fried rice and pulses are mixed and are scattered over the hut and are distributed amongst those present—boys, girls, and even adults. This is known as Ātkalai—'आटकल' and its significance seems to be that as these fried things are scattered so the fame of the child will spread all over the earth. Then the whole night is spent by the the members of the family in feasting and gossiping. Pen, ink and banyan leaves serve as materials for the Bidhātā Purusha to write with and the names of the seven deities are kept in the hut to scare away evil spirits and as marks of sanctity. On this occasion, the goddess *Sashti* is also invoked because

she is regarded as the goddess of fruitfulness—and the children are always spoken of as gifts of the goddess *Sashṭi*.

The actual duration of ceremonial pollution varies amongst different castes of the Hindus. Thus, a *Brāhman* is ceremonially unclean for 11 days, a *Khastriya* for the same period, while for a *Kāyastha* the period of uncleanness lasts for 30 days. On the last day of uncleanness, the woman and her child are bathed—her clothes are either burnt or given away to the sweepers or *mālis*; and the new mother, clothed in a red-bordered *sāri*, is ceremonially conducted to the main house. Before the bath, she has to undergo some rites of purification: A washerman is called in and he sprinkles indigo water over the woman's head, the barber is called in and he pares her nails, the sweeper comes in and he offers his broom-stick to be touched by the new mother. These people are indispensable, and unless these purificatory rites are undergone no one will take water from her hand. The most essential thing necessary for her purification is some water of the Ganges—which is believed to be potent enough to purify any person or place however defiled. During the first month after birth, considerable care is taken by the old ladies of the family to mould the head and nose by manipulation. The head and nose are very soft at this period and the artificial moulding of head and nose of a baby is a peculiar feature in Bengal. To make the head round which is a criterion of

beauty with them the child is given a pillow made of mustard seeds to rest its head on; a flat nose is rendered fine by pressing the nose upwards with fingers against the sides, the long septum of the palate is elevated by pressing the finger against the hard palate—so as to rectify any depression in the bridge of the nose.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. PARALLELISM BETWEEN A MALAY AND A CHIRU ÆTIOLOGICAL FOLK-TALE.

At the monthly meeting of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, held on Wednesday the 31st January 1923, in the Town Hall of that city, Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A. of the Anthropological Department of the University of Calcutta, read a paper *On a Malaya Ætiological Folktale and Its Chiru Parallel*.

In this paper, Prof. Mitra says that savages, barbarians and semi-civilized tribes, who live in the tiger-infested tracts of tropical countries, are familiar with that ferocious beast—"the King of the Forest", and, though are naturally afraid of him, they still look with feelings of admiration upon the beauty and magnificence of his striped skin. Being devoid of scientific knowledge, they are unable to make out that his striped skin—his yellow colouration—are the results of natural evolution, and provide him with the means of what is known to zoologists as "Protective Mimicry"—thereby enabling him to conceal himself all the more effectively among the dried-up and brown reeds and grasses and to stalk his prey successfully. It is for this reason that they have invented myths and folktales to account for the origin of his striped skin.

The Malays of Selangor in the Malaya Peninsula, who are a people living in a state of semi-civilization explain the origin of the tiger's stripes

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by narrating an ætiological folktale of which a *resumé* is given below :—

Once upon a time, an old man found in the jungle a white-skinned green-eyed and long-nailed child, brought him home, and began to bring him up. When this child grew up to boyhood, his foster-father sent him to a school for education. In the school, he treated his school-mates with great cruelty. For his cruel conduct, his school-master thrashed him mercilessly with a rod. After being struck five times with the rod, the boy began to go about on all fours and to growl; and a tail hung down behind him. In other words, *he was transformed into a tiger who, up to the present time, bears upon his skin the marks of the stripes with which he had been thrashed by his school-master.* [Skeat's *Malay Magic* (London, Macmillan & Co. 1900), pages 158-159.]

Prof. S. C. Mitra has, in the next place, pointed out the parallelism between the foregoing Malay ætiological folktale accounting for the origin of the black stripes on the tiger's skin, and the under-mentioned analogous folk-story which is current among the Chirus who are a savage tribe and live in the mountains to the west of the Manipur Valley in North-Eastern India :—

Once upon a time, a tiger and a snail ran a race. The snail had previously arranged with all the other members of his species that, whenever the tiger would call him as he ran, the former should be answered by every snail met by him on the way.

Accordingly, when the tiger started, the snail

did not budge a single inch from his own place. After running alone for some time, the tiger called the snail. But he was answered by another snail who was waiting for him in the neighbourhood. The foolish tiger, mistaking the latter for his rival snail, continued to run and ran so fast that he was quite tired out and fell down dead.

Then all the snails gathered together to express their great joy at the tiger's defeat and crawled all over the latter's carcase leaving stripes upon its skin.

The old men of the Chiru tribe say that this is the reason why tigers possess striped skins. (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol, III., Part III., pages 226 ; 233.).

Lastly, Prof. S. C. Mitra has pointed out the striking similarity between the Chiru folktale given above, and a folk-story which is current among the Khasis of Assam. There is only this much difference between these two folk-tales that, in the Khāsi story, the tiger's part is played by a stag who being defeated by his rival—the snail—by means of similar trickery on the latter's part, vomitted out his gall-bladder. The remaining incidents of both these folktales are identical.

The Khāsis allege that, for the reason stated above, stags, up to the present day, have no gall-bladders within their stomachs. [*Mrs. Rafy's Folktales of the Khāsis*. London ; Macmillan, 1920, pages 81-84.].

II. CHAMPARAN BIHARIS' BELIEF ABOUT THE CALL-NOTE OF THE INDIAN CUCKOO.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A.

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of Calcutta.*

The Indian Cuckoo (*Cuculus micropterus*) is commonly found throughout Bengal, Northern India, the Himalayan regions and Central India. The vernacular names of this bird have been derived from the fanciful interpretations of its call-note. In Bengal, it is called *Bau kathā kao* (বড় কথ্য কায়ো) a name derived from the striking similarity of its call-note to the foregoing words which, translated into English, signify: *O daughter-in-law! speak out.* The people residing in and about the Mussoorie Hills call this bird by the name of *Kya phal pukka*, which is also derived from the fancied resemblance of its call-note with the above-mentioned words which would appear to mean in English: *What fruit has ripened?* It appears to be familiar, under almost the same name, to the residents of the Chumbi Valley district of Sylhet in Eastern Bengal, where this bird is known under the vernacular designation of *Kaital-pākhi* or "the jack-fruit bird"—a name derived from the fact that it makes its appearance and utters its call-note in or about the time when the jack-fruit first comes into season. A quaint legend is current in that district concerning the origin of this bird. The native people of Sylhet

allege that this bird was originally a human being—a girl—who grieved so much at the death of her brother who was killed by a tiger that gods, out of pity for her sorrow-stricken condition, transformed her into this bird. [See my article *On a Bird-myth from the District of Sylhet in Eastern Bengal in The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore) for April 1923, pages 165-169].

This bird is also extremely common in the district of Champaran in North Bihar, most likely because it is well-wooded. But it is not so common in the adjoining district of Sāran. During my stay at Motihari from the 29th April 1923 till about the end of June 1923, I have heard this bird calling at all hours of the day and night within the town of Motihari itself. The Bihāri natives of Motihari and, most likely, of the whole district of Champaran call this bird by the name of *Koel* (कोएल) and say that, by its call-note, it gives utterance to the words *Chal, chal, kalkāttā chal* (चल, चल, कलकत्ता चल,) which, translated into English, mean : "Go, go, to Calcutta go"! Another variant is to the effect that its call-note consists of the words : *Dekho to* (देखो तो) which, in English, mean : *Just see*.

On the morning of the 11th June 1923, while I was walking along the Club Road in Motihari, I heard a Bihari native lad parodying this bird's call-note by bawling out the words : *Chal, chal, Patnā chal* (चल, चल, पाटना चल) and *Chal, chal, Banāras chal* (चल, चल, बनारस चल), which expressions, respectively translated into English, mean : *Go, go, to Patnā go* and *Go, go, to Benares go*.

III. THE CHAMPARAN BIHARIS' BELIEF ABOUT THE INDIAN WEAVER BIRD.

By SART CHANDRA MITRA, M. A.

The Indian Weaver-bird (*Ploceus baya*) is known in Bengal under the name of the *Bābui* (बाबुई). In the district of Champaran in North Bihar the Biharis call it "*Chonchā*" (चोंचा). This bird is well-known for its habit of constructing bottle-shaped nests made of finely-woven fibres and grasses, and suspending them from the branches of the *babul* tree (*Acacia farnesiana*) and from the leaves of the toddy-palm trees (*Borassus flabelliformis*).

On Saturday the 26th May 1923, I, accompanied by Mr. P. K. Mittra, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Motihari, had occasion to pay a visit to a local Marwari gentleman's garden-house which is situated in the south-western suburb of that town. In the course of our visit to this garden, we picked up a bottle-shaped nest of the Indian Weaver-bird, which had been blown down from a palmyra tree growing there. On looking into the inside of this nest we found that, at two spots in its interior, there were two little dried-up lumps of clay sticking to it. On my enquiring from the Bihāri native care-takers of this garden about the reason of the presence of the two lumps of clay, in the nest, they said: *On dark nights, the weaver-bird brings a small lump of clay and sticks it to the inside of its bottle-shaped nest. Thereafter, it brings 2 or 3 fire-flies and affixes them to the said lump of clay, for the purpose of*

lighting up the interior of its nest". They emphatically asserted that it was a fact and that they had seen it with their own eyes.

Though it is a far cry from Champāran in North-Bihār to the Malay Peninsula in South-Eastern Asia, it is curious to note that the afore-mentioned belief of the Bihāris of Champāran about the Weaver-bird also exists among the Malayas. This last-mentioned people say that the Weaver-bird occasionally makes another kind of nest which is either hood-shaped or helmet-shaped and which is used by the cock-bird as its 'swing'. This swing is similar in appearance to the upper half of the ordinary bottle-shaped nest with a grass-woven perch across it. The Malayas further say that the bird places a small daub of clay on the walls of the 'swing' just over each end of the perch. They further state that the cock bird swings in it, while the hen bird is sitting, and that the young ones also 'take the air' in it when they are strong enough to fly on to it. *The Malayas, further believe and state that the cock bird sticks fire-flies into the two daubs of clay on the perch for the purpose of furnishing itself with light during the night-time.* [Vide W. W. Skeat's *Malay Magic* (London : Macmillan, 1900), page 127-128].

IV. THE CHAMPARAN BIHARI'S BELIEF ABOUT A SNAKE.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A.

In the night of the 10th June 1923, a small snake of the thickness of a finger was killed in our house and the local servants called it by the name of *Ghony karait* (घोड़करैत). I am unable to give its zoological name. They say that this small snake is very venomous (बड़ा विषधर है). They further say that, if a person is bitten by it, he will either die or become deaf. The question whether this belief of the Champaran Biharis is quite in accordance with scientific facts, or whether it is a mere folk-belief having no foundation in fact, cannot be decided unless and until this small snake is correctly identified and its zoological affinities ascertained.

V. THE CHAMPARAN BIHARIS' BELIEFS ABOUT THE COBRA AND THE DHAMAN.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A.

One of our local servants from village Chhitowni, and the orderly of Mr. P. K. Mitra, Deputy Magistrate of Motihari, both of whom are Bihāri natives of Champaran, tell me that the venom of the *Gohuman* (गौहूमन) or the Cobra (*Nain tripudians*) is so powerful and virulent that, if this snake would bite a bamboo, it would split open of itself.

They further believe and assert that there is another kind of snake called the *Dhamin* (धामिन) or the Rat snake (*Ptyas mucosus*, Linn), which seizes hold of a person's leg with its teeth and lashes the latter by means of its tail, and that the latter, being thus lashed, dies. With reference to this snake, Dr. J. Anderson says: "The natives of India say that the *Dhamun* has the habit of sucking cows".¹

¹ *Guide to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens.* By John Anderson, M. D., F. R. S., Calcutta: 1883. Page 141.

VI. ON THE JACKAL WORSHIP.

By TARAK CHANDRA RAY CHOWDHURY, M. A.

The practice of Jackal-worship (शिवा पूजा) is prevalent in the Madaripore Subdivision in the district of Faridpore. It is a part of the नील पूजा or चढ़क पूजा performed in the night of the last day of the month of Chaitra. The deity worshipped is represented by an image of which the right-half is half-Shiva-murti and the left half half-Gauri-murti. After due worship a goat is sacrificed. The goat offered to the deity is locked outside the house by the बाला or the professional man who knows some of the peculiar छंदs or rhimed lines uttered on occasions of various dances that appear to form part of the worship. This बाला must be a चाड़ाल (चलुल or नमः शूद्र— a member of an unclean cultivator class). First, some quantity of rice (सिद्ध चारुल) and मूंग pulses are boiled together in a new earthen pot (मालसा). After the cooking is over, the head of the sacrificed goat is skinned, a शाल मत्स्य (गजाल मच्छली) and a सिंह मत्स्य (जेयाल मच्छली) are roasted in the fire. The boiled rice is placed on the कुला (a bamboo winnowing-basket) along with the roasted things. Then the बाला takes the कुला covered with a new napkin (which is the due of the बाला) and puts it out in a lonely place for jackals to eat. It is also reported that in former times the food was not so carried, for the jackals used to gather round the place of cooking and there eat what was offered. But since this is no longer so, people think that either the महित (aliveness) of the god Shiva has disappeared from that place, or that the worship is not properly performed now-a-days. But even now, the rice is eaten by jackals.

VII. SYMPATHETIC MAGIC BASED ON THE ANALOGY OR SIMILARITY OF NAMES.

BY MANINDRA SARCAR, B. SC.

and

NANI GOPAL SHAHA, B. A.

and

REVATI KANTA SANYAL, B. A.

In the district of Rajshahi in Northern Bengal, and in that of Nadiya in Central Bengal, the under-described customary rite is performed on the Bijayā Dasami or Dashara Day, that is to say, on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the Bengali month of Āsvina (September-October) or of Karttika (October-November), on which day the goddess Durgā is finally worshipped, and her image is thrown into some river or tank. After the last pūjā or the final rites of worship have been performed on this day the *Brahmana* priest, who officiates at this worship, makes armlets (or wristlets) by twining pieces of new (or old) cloth (dyed yellow with turmeric) and pieces of the tender stalks of the mussel-shell creeper (*অপরাজিতা লতা*—Nat. Order *Leguminosæ*). In the district of Rajshāhi, however, some mustard-seeds and a few leaves and flowers of the mussel-shell creeper are tied up in these strips of yellow cloth and then, being twined with the stalks of the said creeper, are made up into armlets or wristlets which the priest places at the feet of the image of the goddess Durgā and, thereby, endows them with magico-religious virtue or potency. The Brāhmana-priest

recites *mantras* or prayer-formulæ or charm-formulæ over these armlets or wristlets.

Thereafter, the officiating priest wears one of these armlets or wristlets on his own right arm or wrist and, then, makes the male members of the house-hold in which the goddess has been worshipped each wear one on his right arm or wrist, and each female member wears one on her left arm or wrist. The male and the female members of other families may also come to the priest and put on these charmed armlets or wristlets.

The wearers of these charmed armlets or wristlets throw them into the river or tank at the time when the image of the goddess Durga is thrown into such river or tank. Sometimes, the wearers preserve these charmed armlets or wristlets till the *pūjā* or worship of the goddess Durga comes round in the following year when these armlets or wristlets are laid at the feet of the goddess' image and, thereafter, are thrown, along with that image, into some sheet of water.

This custom seems to illustrate the doctrine of Sympathetic Magic based on analogy or similarity of names just as the mediaeval doctrine of signatures is based on the similarity of appearances. This will be evident from the facts that the name of the mussel-shell creeper, the tender stalks of which are used in the preparation of these armlets or wristlets, is *Aparājita* [अपराजिता or *She who has never been defeated*], and the name of the day, on which these armlets or wristlets are made, is *Bijayā* (विजया or *the day*

of Victory. By wearing these charmed armlets or wristlets, the wearers thereof become *invincible* (अपराजेय) and *victorious* (विजयी). [Mark the similarity between these two epithets, and the names of the creeper and of the day.] Stripping the whole thing of its metaphor, we may say that, by wearing these charmed armlets or wristlets, the wearers thereof believe that they will be successful in their enterprises and attain their hearts' desires during the ensuing year.

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS ON THE PRECEDING NOTES.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A.

The custom, which has been described in the preceding notes and is prevalent in the districts of Rājshāhi and Nadiya, not only illustrates the doctrine of Sympathetic Magic but also exemplifies the great doctrine of Animism (or the belief that spirits pervade nature) which has been so lucidly expounded by professor Sir E. B. Tylor in his great work on *Primitive Culture*. It is one of the cardinal doctrines of the philosophy of the lower culture that savages and barbarians believe that malignant spirits are ever on the alert to inflict sickness on them or to do them other mischief and harm. Under the influence of this belief, people living in a low plane of culture always resort to various expedients for the purpose of thwarting the nefarious designs of these malicious spirits. The lower classes of Hindus of the districts of Rājshāhi and Nadiyā, thus believe that they are surrounded by malignant spirits who are always trying to do them mischief either by inflicting sickness on them, or ill-success on their undertakings, or by preventing them from attaining their hearts' desires. It is for the purpose of thwarting the nefarious designs of these malignant spirits, that they wear the afore-described charmed armlets or wristlets on the Bijayā Dasami Day. This will be evident from a consideration of the significance of the materials which are used in the preparation of the said charmed armlets or wristlets :—

- (a) Yellow-coloured cloth.
- (b) Mustard seeds.
- (c) The circular shape of the armlets or wristlets.

Now as to point (a), I may state that the yellow colour is a scarer of malignant spirits who do not venture to come near objects which are dyed or tinted with that colour.¹

Then I shall pass on to the consideration of point (b) about the use of the mustard-seeds.

Now, it is believed by the people of Northern India and the Punjāb that ghosts, demons and other evil spirits have a lively dread of the mustard seed. For this reason, it is extensively used in exorcism ceremonies throughout India. In the Punjab, it is believed that ghosts and spooks cannot pass over ground which has been sown with mustard. For this reason, mustard-seeds are scattered about the halting-places when a corpse is taken for the purpose of burial to the grave-yard so that the ghost of the deceased may not retrace its steps homewards.²

It is for this reason that the Silari or the professional hail-averters of district Mymensingh in eastern Bengal sows mustard-seeds in the south-western corners of houses in order to make them proof against lightning-strokes because the malignant god of storms, who hurls the lightning-

¹ Vide Crooke's *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad Edition of 1894), page 201.

² See my article on "Some Bihari Mantras or Incantations" in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. IX. pages 503-504.

stroke against men, beasts, trees and houses, is very much afraid of mustard-seeds and will not, on any account, approach localities which have been sown with these seeds.

Then as to point (c) about the magical efficacy of the circle it is believed throughout Northern India that the circle or the circular shape possesses great magical potency in keeping off malignant spirits. ³

³ See the various examples cited at pages 210 ff. of Crooke's *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad Edition of 1891).

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In *Folk-Lore* for June 1923, Prof. W. R. Halliday, in "Notes upon Indo-European Folk-tales and the Problem of their Diffusion", takes up the position that the theory of independent and spontaneous invention, although it may account for similarity in general ideas and, in particular, the resemblances between primitive cosmological stories, where similar and obvious stimuli may well have produced similar reactions in similar minds, does not stand the test of examination when identity in the detailed structure of stories is in question; that folk-tales, being a series of incidents arranged in a logical or interesting series, and thus moulded in an artistic pattern, can only be created consciously by an individual intellect and not by the 'folk' in the sense of the collective mentality of a people. The real effect of the activities of the folk, Prof. Halliday tells us, "is to weaken or distort the patterns with which they start. The folk modify it is true, but on the whole for the worse. The pattern is literally rather than intelligently followed". Within the Indo-European area, according to Mr. Halliday, folk-tales have been invented in some particular place and thence diffused. From the author's hypotheses that (a) any particular story has been invented once and for all in some place, and has thence been passed on, and that (b) the bulk of modern European folk-tales were introduced into Europe from abroad not earlier than the Middle Ages, it follows that to use the incidents

of folk-tales as evidence for the aboriginal habits or institutions of the people who now tell them, is hazardous in the extreme. Professor Halliday thinks that the main current set definitely from East to West, but there are stories which have travelled east-wards from the West. "In dealing with the question of Indian origin, the main difficulty", Mr. Halliday says, "is to know what weight is to be placed upon the occurrence of a theme in Indian oral tradition in determining the probability of Indian origin. A Folk-tale handed down by oral tradition may be of great local antiquity or it may not". Mr. Halliday suggests that a great service should be done by a specialist in Eastern Folk-tales who should examine and catalogue the stories which have passed into China and Indo-China with Buddhism at any early and roughly ascertainable date; for the plots of these tales, if they appeared in the West, would legitimately be classified as of Indian origin. Another fruitful line of investigation would be to attempt to settle how far the modern oral tradition of India may be due not to a continuous existence in India but to reflex influences from Islam. Thus detailed investigation may perhaps show that in the story of the *Three Orange Peris*, which spread over Southern Europe from the Middle East, and which is clearly allied to, though not identical with, certain Indian stories, an Indian motive was worked up in the Middle East and spread to the West in its modified form.

Finally, Prof. Halliday questions the theory which regards the beast fable as an Indian invention; he suggests the possibility that both Indian and European versions may have been derived, not from each other, but from a common original; and that common original of both the Jatakas and of *Æsop*, it is suggested, may be found in the lost literature of which a specimen is in the papyrus written in Aramaic in the 5th century B. C. and discovered in Egypt.

In the same number of *Folk-Lore*, Mr. J. H. Hutton contributes four folk-tales from the Naga Hills of Assam.—The first story headed "Man and the Tiger" accounts for the enmity between the two. The second story gives the origin of "The Hornbill's Beak", and of the *genna* to wear the beak of that bird (called 'Zerta') without having killed a warrior. The third is about 'The Village of Women' where there are no men, all male bodies being killed by pouring hot water on them, and the women become pregnant through hornets sucking their breasts. The fourth story, headed "Dosa", accounts for the name of the variety of paddy known as *Dosa Dhan*. It relates how a cultivator named Dosa saw a rainbow rising up from the middle of his fields and slew it with his *dao* and spear, but the rainbow again emerged, a *dhan* plant grew up and he took and planted it in his fields, and the man's name has become that of the *dhan*.

In the last July number of *Man*, Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti, in "Notes on Ancestor-Worship current in Kerala", describes the different forms of

ancestor-worship, such as *Srāddha* or periodical offering of oblations, the setting apart of a particular room in the house as the abode of the ancestral manes, the consecration of a room in the house as an ancestor-shrine where either statues or weapons or other mementoes of deceased ancestors are preserved and periodical festivities held in their honour. The writer cites some instances of such family shrines and sectarian and class shrines growing into public temples and religious and socio-religious festivals such as the *Onam* festival celebrated in Kerala by all people, rich and poor alike.

In the last September number of *Man*, Mr. T. A. Joyce, M. A., O. B. E., contributes a "Note on a Stone Relief in Græco-Buddhist style from North-west India recently acquired by the British Museum", which illustrates an incident in the life of the Buddha not often represented in the sculptures. The incident, also represented in a relief preserved in the Calcutta Museum, represents the Buddha, gladly receiving in his begging-bowl the offering of a handful of dust from Jaya (a boy of noble blood), in approbation of the boy's genuine reverence to a holy man. This pious boy is said to have become, in another incarnation, the great Asoka.

In the last October number of *Man*, Captain D. H. Gordon, D. S. O., in *Some Notes on "Possession by Bhuts" in the Punjab*, describes generally recognised forms of spirit-possession in the Punjab, namely the fortuitous encountering

of a wandering *Bhut*, which will seize upon a man in order that it may inhabit his body when so inclined; the entering of a spirit of a great friend who is either dead or who has power to transport his spirit; and possession of a *Bhut* by a wizard (*Jādugar*) or any other person who is learned in Mantar or who is a *Kalam parhne-wālā* (reader of spells). Methods of exorcism in these different forms of spirit-possession are also described.

In the last November number of *Man*, Mr. J. H. Hutton, cites two more cases, one modern from the Koryak tribes of the Naga Hills and another ancient, reported by Samuel Purchas from Asia Minor, of *Sacrifice by Hurling from the Roof*, an instance of which among the Angami Nagas he had described in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for 1922, pp. 55-70. Mr. Hutton suggests that the casting down of the victim from above may be taken to aid the fall of fertilising rain. From the mention by Purchas of the letting down of the children by ropes in sacks while the victims (animals) to be actually sacrificed were cast down from the top of the porch, Mr. Hutton infers that "possibly the puppy in the Angami ceremony has taken the place of a child, particularly if any one of the crowd can manage to get hold of it and carry it off to his house safely, he is allowed to rear it". "The second victim, a calf, is invariably killed". "Perhaps the treatment of the two victims taken together", Mr. Hutton suggests,

"represents a gradual mitigation of the original form of the human sacrifice, the substitution of a calf for a man having been first accompanied by the throwing down of a child, which might be saved".

In the January-June number of the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Mr. Govind S. Ghurye, M. A., in a very interesting paper on *Dual Organization in India*, attempts to show, by an examination of the terminology of kinship, the special regulations of marriage among particular tribes which prescribe marital union between cross-cousins, and bar one between parallel-cousins, and the present day social organization and customs of certain South Indian tribes such as the Tottiyans, the Gollas, the Koravas, the Uppiliyans etc., that there are good reasons to believe that in Southern India there was a wide prevalence of the dual organization with matrilineal descent.

In the last July number of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Professor S. C. Mitra, M. A., contributes a paper on *A Bengali Cumulative Folk-tale of the old Dame Lousy type*, the leading incidents of which are: the heroine of the story dies; (2) thereupon a bird, (a paddy bird in this case) in order to give expression to his grief at his death, fasts for several days; and (3) thereafter, some calamity happens to the other actors in the tale (in this case, an elephant loses its tail, a tree its leaves, a dove one of its eyes, the *lathi* of a cow-herd boy gets stuck to

servant-maid gets stuck to her hand, a bell-metal platter gets stuck to the queen's hand, and a king and all his courtiers get stuck to their respective seats. And finally a carpenter frees the Raja and his courtiers by sawing off the wooden seats sticking to them, and the other persons by sawing off the platter, winnowing basket and *lathi* from their respective fore-arms.

In the October number of the same Journal, Mr. K. Krishnamacharya contributes a note in which he gives an abstract of a South Indian analogue to Prof. S. C. Mitra's *Bengali Cumulative Folk-tale* published in the July number of the Journal.

In the same issue of the Journal, Prof. S. C. Mitra, gives *An Ætiological Myth about the Spotted Dove*, current in Bengal, and compares it with analogous myths accounting for the colouration of birds, current among the Malayas, the Garos, and the Khasis.

In the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, for 1923, Dr. J. J. Modi contributes four papers headed *Notes on a Flying Visit to Japan*. In these papers he briefly refers to Iranian influence on Japanese art, the origin of the Japanese people and their history, Japanese courtesy in salutation and language, the peculiar mode of carrying Japanese children by slinging them upon the back in a deep fold of the *Kimano*, Shintoism, and Japanese Buddhism which is not free from the elements of the older Shintoism, Shinto and Buddhist temples and their revolving

libraries (*rinzo*), travelling pilgrims, the Matsuri or annual religious festivals, Indian gods in Buddhist Japan, the cure of illness by touching an image, the use of a mirror as a sacred implement, the social influence of tea in Japan, and the 'Tea Cult' of the Japanese which is at bottom "a particular kind of observation of the rules of society in the matter of tea-parties" and is, in fact, an 'apotheosis of tea-drinking'. Dr. Modi compares the tea parties of the Japanese to the wine-parties of the ancient Iranians, and the tea-ceremony of the Japanese with the Haoma ceremony of the Parsis. In the four papers of the series, Dr. Modi compares the Torie of the Japan with the Torans of ancient and modern India and gives us an erudite discussion of the history of the kind of gateways known as *Toranas*.

In the same issue of the Journal, Prof. S. C. Mitra describes a "Malay *Ætiological* Folk-tale and its Chiru Parallel"; and in another paper the same author writes "On the Conversion of Tribes into Castes in North Bihar" and shows how a large number of people belonging to an aboriginal tribe (such as the Oraons or the Bhuiyas or Musahars) having migrated into a new District in search of employment and settled down there, adopted some of the manners and customs of their Hindu neighbours and adopted a new caste-name, without wholly ignoring their original tribal designation.

In the same issue of the Journal, Mr. G. E. L. Carter, I. C. S., in a paper on 'The Geog-

raphy of Vendidad, Pargurd, I', comes to the conclusion that Ptolemy's map of Said should be made the basis for exploring Sind, partly to unravel the hidden secrets of *Sokstra*, partly to establish the study of the Avesta on a concrete archaeological basis instead of its being confined to literary research.

In the same issue of the Journal, Dr. L. Partold, Ph. D., describes *A Protective Ritual of the Southern Buddhists*, known as the *Pirit* in Ceylon, Burma and Siam. The ceremony originally consisted of the recital of some texts uplifting the human mind and helping the man on the difficult road of *samsara*, and gradually came to be regarded as a mighty protective power against *Yakkhas* or evil spirits and plagues, famines and demons. It has now sunk 'to the low level of ceremonies' which are calculated only to fascinate the people by means of mysterious performances,—features which were so strongly opposed by the founder of the sublime system of Buddhism. The whole investigation into *Paritta* is thus summed up by the author :

1. The different parts of *Paritta* text are very old parts of canonical Buddhist scriptures.
2. Already in India, most probably very soon after *Katha Vatthu* had been composed [third century B. C.] but anyhow long before the first part of the fifth century A. D., the reading of these selected texts began to be used as protection of the sick against death.

3. On other occasions, Buddhists, even as the Hindus, used incantations, spells, mantras, charms, *yantras*, etc., for personal protection [*attaparittâ*, *attarakkhâ*, *attaguttâ*], as e. g., against snake bites.

4. Later on,—we cannot ascertain the exact time,—in Ceylon, a rigorously fixed collection of *sutras* for general protection was compiled, which is called in Pâli *Paritta* and in Sinhalese *Pirit-pota* or *Piruvana-pota*.

5. The recital of *Paritta* in Ceylon was very early connected with processions, in which relics of Buddha and images of Buddha or of some of his disciples were carried through the city.

6. By the influence of the survivals of the aboriginal Ceylonese religion the original mere recital of the *Paritta* *sutras* changed into a systematic ceremony, mixed with many magic elements.

7. By analogy, Buddhism, too, exercised a mighty influence on magical and secret cults of the lower classes of the Sinhalese people in which magic thread was used. Thus can be explained why there are now two different kinds of *Paritta* in Ceylon: (1) the Buddhist *Paritta*, at which Buddhist monks, and *Bhikkhus*, officiate, and (2) Witch *Pirit*, performed by wizards [*kattâdiya*] and sorcerers [*yakâdurâ*].

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

The Bronze Age and the Celtic World. *By Harold Peake, F. S. A., (London: Benn Brothers, Ltd., 1922) PP. XII+201 with 14 plates., Price 42 S. net.*

The present work is a reproduction, with some expansion in its latter part, of the substance of a course of six lectures delivered by the author at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. An eminently interesting attempt has been made to interpret the archaeological, philological and other evidence relating to the Aryan cradle and the wanderings of the Wiros or original Aryan race and to restore the main features of their early history.

By a careful analysis of the different forms of the hilts of ancient swords and a survey of the regional distribution of each variety of them, Mr. Peake has made out a sequence of types and a chronological scheme for them. And as a result of his analysis he fixes upon the evolution and distribution of the leaf-shaped swords characteristic of the later stages of the Bronze Age in Europe (which he interprets as the weapons of definite groups of aggressive and migratory folk, during the troubled period from the fifteenth and ninth century B. C.,) as affording a crucial test by which to gauge the value of previous suggestions. "The leaf-shaped sword folk, mainly the people of the mountain Zone",

Mr. Peake concludes, "have at one time or another invaded and in some way or other conquered nearly all Europe except the Iberian peninsula, while at the close of the Bronze age, they arrive as refugees in Celtic lands. The iron-sword folk, the people of the plain, who had learned the use of the koban, followed them, making a complete conquest of Greece, of Italy north of the Apennines, of France all but the west and the Seine valley, Belgium and perhaps other regions further north. These people did not conquer Scandinavia, nor did they reach Britain, at any rate until several more centuries had elapsed. Our author then proceeds to cite evidence to identify them with the P-speaking (Cymric) Celts. Our author then proceeds to give his reasons for identifying the Q-speaking (Gaelic) Celts with the users of the leaf-shaped swords. Says he, "The general agreement between the leaf-shaped swords, the area occupied by the Aborigines before the Sabine expedition, and the area of Q-speech, suggests that these three are one, especially as there is a progressive abandonment of the north-western portion and a movement towards the south-west near the mouth of the Tiber. My suggestion is that the Aborigines were the descendants of the leaf-shaped sword people and the ancestors of the Q-speaking Latin peoples of later days".

Mr. Peake marshals a mass of evidence in favour of the Russian steppe as the Aryan cradle. Their early culture is also discussed. We have found reason for believing, says our author, that in

neolithic days the Russian steppe east of the Dnieper was inhabited by a nomad steppe-folk, who had domesticated horses and cattle, and perhaps sheep. As they lived on a plain they had probably not met with the goat, which is a mountain-beast, and it is to be noted that the name of the goat varies in nearly all the Wiro languages. These nomad steppe-folk, who buried their dead in a contracted position covered with red ochre under kurgans or barrows, were, we believe, Nordic or Proto-Nordic in type, and some, at least, of their skeletons remind us of the Brunn-Brux-Combe-Capelle type, who hunted horses in late Aurignacian and Solutrian times..... In Magdalenian and Azilian times and perhaps during the earlier phases of the neolithic age, the ancestors of these people may well have lived in the Hungarian plain, and we have seen how some of them survived in Switzerland, at Chamblandes, well into neolithic times". (PP. 140-141).

The beginnings of their language, we are told, may "date back to Magdalenian and Azilian times, when they may have been living surrounded by the Carpathian ring". (P. 143).

Although it cannot be said that this is the last word on the subject of the Aryan cradle, the discussion of the subject by Mr. Peake brings forward several very interesting and novel points, and his method of treatment of his subject is novel and eminently stimulating. We recommend

the book very strongly to every student of the subject as also to the general student.

Anthropology. *By A. L. Kroeber, Professor of Anthropology, University of California. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1923.*

This is a welcome book,—a much desired statement of the present positions in the subject. The work is packed with information covering a wide range. Illustrations, maps, diagrams and tables enhance the value of the book. An interesting feature of the work is the attention given to the American Indian and his culture.

After some preliminary discussions, the author turns to the study of race, reviewing in turn fossil man and living races of man. Grimaldi and Cromagnon of the latter half of the Old stone Age seem to forshadow the modern races; the former with Negroid features, and the latter, with the Brunn, suggesting Caucasian affinities. However, we know neither the origin of present races nor the immediate descendents of fossil man. Present races must have been 10,000 years in evolving their present features.

Differentiation of living man into racial groups is most difficult. Classification rests upon certain traits,—stature, various indices, capacity of the skull, texture of the hair, hairiness, color and hair color and eye color. A satisfactory classification must take into account the largest possible number of traits. re-tenths of the nations and

tribes of the world may be grouped in three primary classes, Caucasian, Mongoloid and Negroid. There are besides these a few scattered peoples difficult to classify. Each of the primary classes may be subdivided. For example, the Caucasian may be divided into Nordic, Alpine, Mediterranean and Hindu. A brief history of race classifications follows and a statement of principles of classification is made. Out of the discussion of problems of race the author concludes that it is a difficult task to establish any race to be either superior or inferior to another, but relatively easy to prove that we entertain a strong prejudice in favor of our own racial superiority. An authoritative pronouncement on race superiority and inferiority is at present impossible.

In a chapter on "Language", the author deals with the relations of race, language and culture. Speech tends to be one of the most persistent ethnic characteristics. "As to the relative permanence of race and speech, everything depends on the side from which the question is approached. From the point of view of hereditary strains, race must be the more conservative, because it can change rapidly only through admixture with another race, whereas language may be completely exchanged in a short time. From the point of view of history, however, which regards human actions within given territories, speech is often more stable". Speech and culture tend to form something of a unit as opposed to race. Languages cannot be rated as

higher and lower. From the point of view of civilization, language does not matter. Language will always keep up with whatever pace culture sets it. In general, every language is capable of indefinite modification and expansion and thereby is enabled to meet cultural demands almost at once. Changes in languages are mostly in vocabulary. Languages differ among each other in their susceptibility to change, and the same language differs, evidently, in successive periods in its history. Languages of certain types of structure are inherently more plastic than others. There are notable differences in the readiness with which languages borrow words ready-made. The author calls attention to a phenomenon which language shows more conspicuously than culture, or which is more easily demonstrated in it, namely, parallel or convergent development, the repeated independent growth of a trait.

In the chapter on "The Beginnings of Human History", is set forth a careful outline and characterization of pre-historic cultural periods.

The next six chapters deal with heredity, climate and civilization, diffusion, parallels, the arch and the week, the spread of the alphabet, and the growth of primitive religion. Professor Kroeber summarizes these chapters as follows, and then proceeds to apply these principles to the study of the pre-Columbian history of the Western Hemisphere. Culture cannot be adequately explained either by the innate peculiarities of race or by the influences of geographi-

cal environment. The factors to be primarily considered in the interpretation of civilization are cultural or social ones. Civilization is to a great extent the result of accretion. New elements are handed down in time or passed along in space by a process which psychologically is one of imitation and in its cultural manifestations is spoken of as diffusion. The principle holds with equal validity in the domains of mechanical, institutional and intellectual activity. It must be accepted, purely as a consequence of an objective or behavioristic examination of human civilization, that while the element of invention or creative progress remains unexplained, the factor of diffusion or imitation is the one that is operative in the majority of cultural events. As contrasted with it, instances of the principle of independent origin or parallel development prove to be decidedly rare, and tend to be illusory on searching analysis or to dissolve into only partial similarities. In the analysis of the growth of religion in native California (Chapter XII.—The Growth of Primitive Religion), application is made of the assumption, derived from the diffusion principle, that normally the more widely spread element would be the more ancient. Instances of diffusion are overwhelming in American Culture.

The last two chapters deal with the growth of civilization in the Old World, taking in turn pre-history and archeology and the following periods. In all this survey diffusion is almost universally present. Some of the final statements

are of interest. Culture may be independent of race, yet it is carried on by races, and the sweep of cultural history reveals certain races as the most favorable carriers or as inherently constituted to be producers and dispensers of civilization. On the whole, the greatest share of culture production has fallen to the Caucasians. The part of the Mongoloids is not insignificant. Even if the foundation of Chinese civilization prove to be largely western, its main structure is native and the alien elements that have flowed in during the last three thousand years have been thoroughly adapted to this structure. The East Indians, another Mongoloid branch, have shown a fair power of assimilation. Finally, the achievements of the American Mongoloids in Mexico and Peru must be given heavy weight because they appear to have been made in utter isolation, without the stimulus of contact or import, and on the basis of nothing more than a late Palaeolithic or earliest Neolithic culture. The share of the Negroids in the higher advances has been small. The consistent failure of the Negro race to accept the whole or even the main substance of the fairly near-by Mediterranean civilization, or to work out any notable sub-centres of cultural productivity, would appear to be one of the strongest of the arguments that can be advanced for an inferiority of cultural potentiality on their part. On the ground of long continued lead in productivity, of having reared the largest portion of the structure of existing civilization, the Mediterranean branch

of the Caucasian race would have to be awarded the palm over all others. To it belonged the Egyptians; the Cretans and other Aegeans; the Semitic strain in the Babylonians; the Phoenicians and Hebrews; and a large element in the population of classic Greece and Italy, as well as the originators of Muhammadanism. With the Hindus and as probably nearly related, the dark whites have a clear lead. The next largest share civilization would owe to the Alpine-Armenoid broad-headed Caucasian branch. By comparison, the Nordic branch looms insignificant. Most of the national and cultural supremacy of Nordic peoples, so far as it is real, falls within the last two hundred years. Against this, the Mediterranean and Alpines have a record of leading in civilization for at least six thousand years.

The impression left, after reading the book, is that it deals principally with origins, or pre-history rather than with the broader subject of anthropology. One would desire the discussion of a number of topics that might be included in a general work on anthropology. The large argument in the book is for diffusion as a very much more active principle in the growth of cultures than is parallelism. Considerable reference is made to peripheral distribution of traits as an index to antiquity.

The book is written in a most interesting style and deserves a very wide reading.

G. W. Briggs

The Lango; A Nilotic Tribe of Uganda. *By J. A. Driberg, (Uganda Civil Service), with a Foreward by Sir Robert Thorne Coryndon, K. C. M. G., Governor of the Uganda Protectorate (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1923) PP. 557.— Price £ 3. 35. net.*

In this handsome volume, the author presents us with a full and accurate account of the migrations, physical and psychical characters, mode of life, social organization, religion and magic, and the language, vocabulary and folk-lore of the Lango. The Lango are a very interesting African tribe of Uganda who along with the Shilluk, Dinka, and some other less known tribes form what has been called the Nilotic speech-group. Mr. Driberg has provided such a wealth of information about the people that it is difficult to summarise it in a short review. The history, geographical environment, physical and psychical characteristics, mode of life, social organization, religion and magic, language and folk-lore of the people are described with a fullness and accuracy of detail and sympathetic insight born of close acquaintance and patient investigation. We strongly recommend a careful study of the book to all students of Anthropology.

A History of the Arabs in the Sudan, And Some Account of the People who preceded them and of the Tribes inhabiting Darfur. *By A. H. Macmichael, D. S. O., (Sudan Political Service).*

In two Volumes. [Cambridge University Press, 1922]. Price 90 S. net.

We accord a hearty welcome to these suptuons volumes.

Volume I consists of three parts. Part I gives us a general idea of the ethnic characteristics of the people who inhabited the various quarters of the northern Sudan before the period of Muhammadan immigration and to whom the the non-Arab element in the present population of the Sudan is mainly due. Part II Traces the progress through Egypt in the Middle Ages of certain Arab tribes now represented in the Sudan. The progress of the most important of those Arab tribes which sent branches to the Sudan in the Middle Ages is traced by following the fortunes of each in turn, as a single whole where possible, or otherwise as a number of subdivisions which had become practically independent of one another, down to the time of their entry into the Sudan. Opportunity is taken of this historical summary for the passing mention of such contemporary events in Nubia as have not been completely lost in obscurity. An attempt is made to trace the degree of racial connexion or distinction existing between the various present-day Arab tribes of the Sudan and the more famous immigrants of the earlier age.

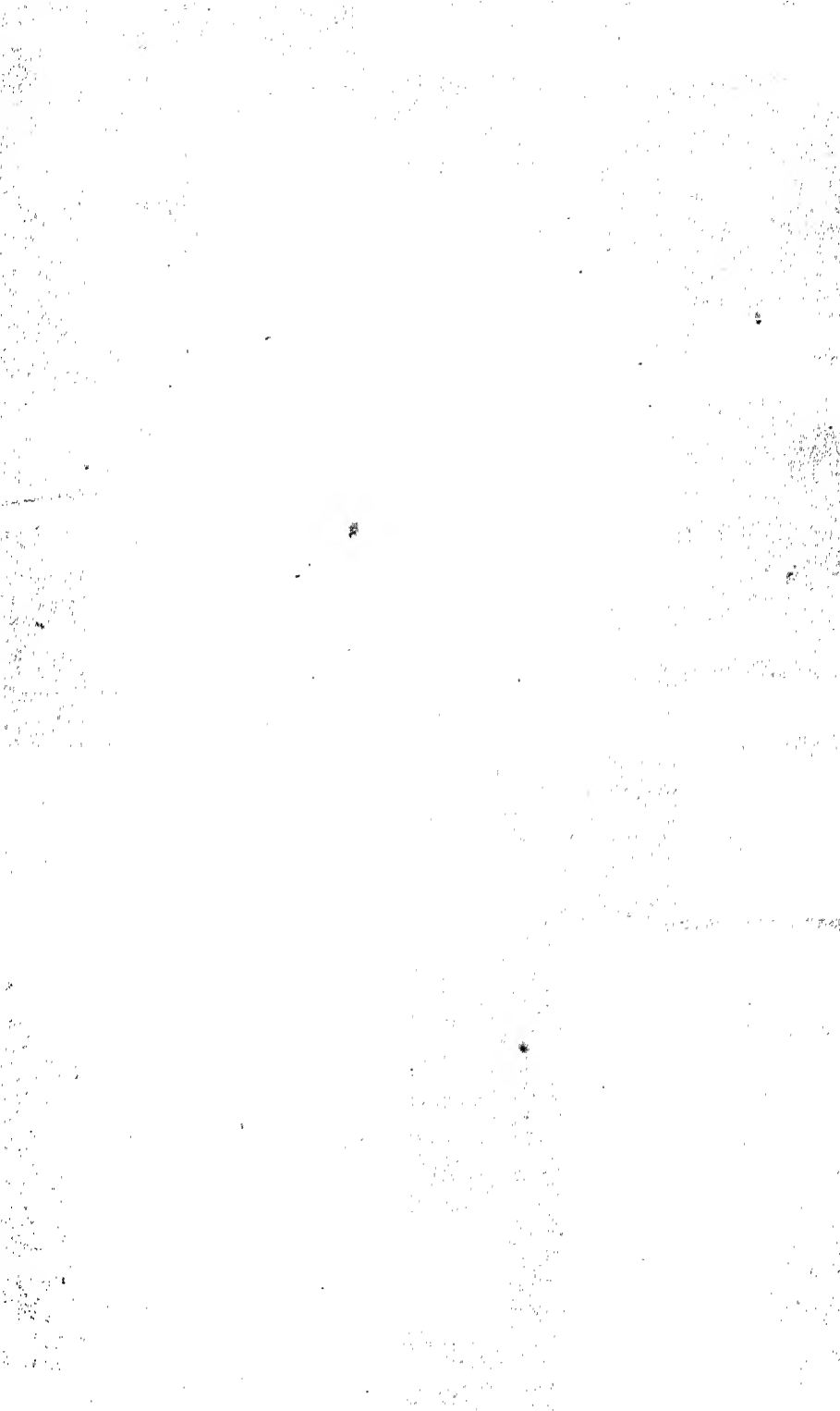
Part III gives an account of the history and composition of those Arabic-speaking tribes which are the best known in the Sudan at the present day and in which the Arab element

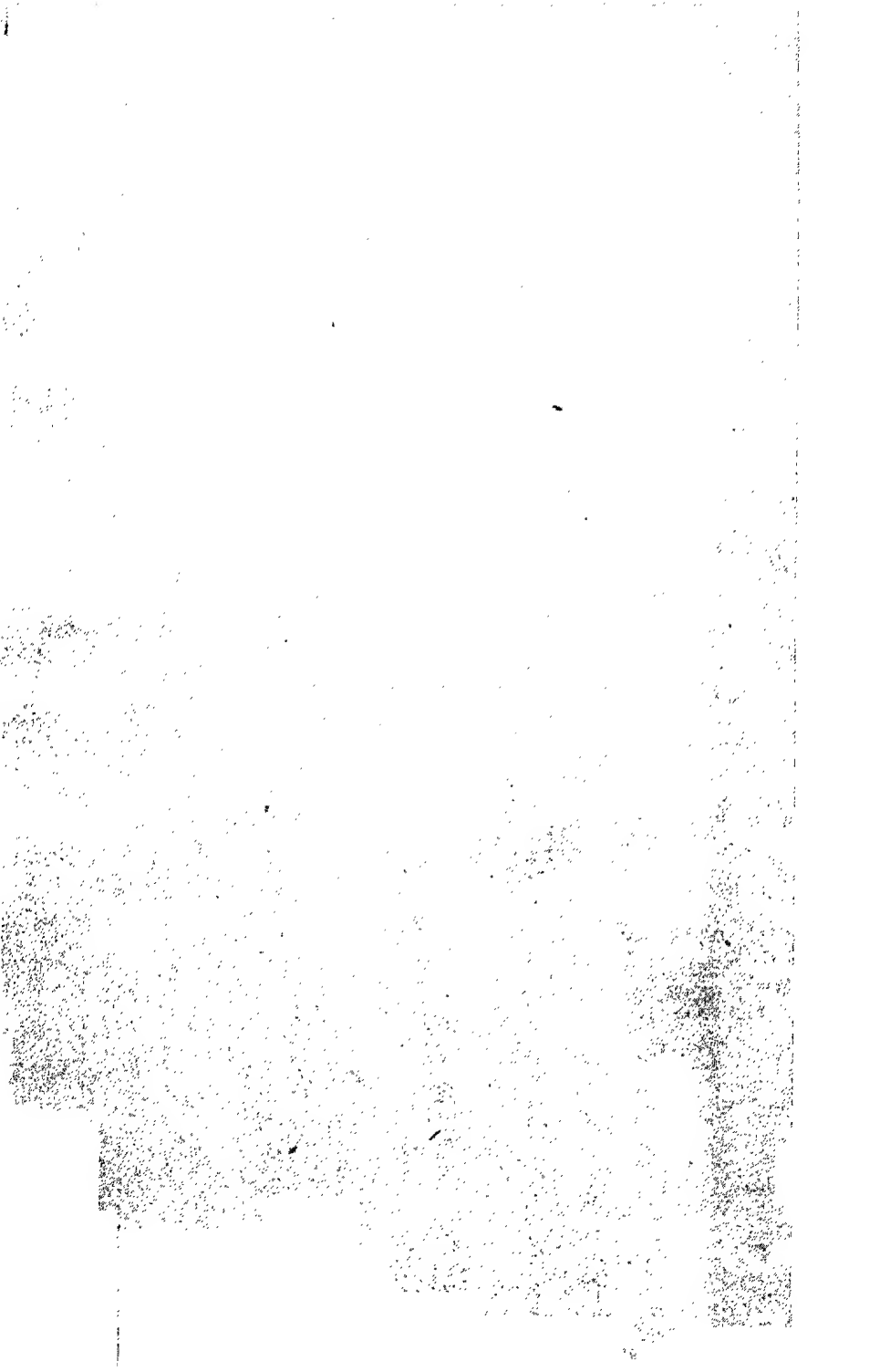
either predominates or is at least sufficiently strong to warrant the popular definition of them as Arabs. These are the Gao'alin and Danagla group, the Guhayna group, the Kawáhla group, the Kenàna and Deghaym, the Rikábia, the Hawáwir, Gellába, Howàra, Wahia and Korobat, the Abáda and Kerrárish, the Kerriat, the Southern Mahass, the Hamrán, the Rashaido and Zebaydia, and the Hadabic and Hudur. An attempt is made to connect each of these tribes with its respective parent stock.

Although the volumes do not give or profess to give much ethnographical information about the tribes in question, a short note on certain burial customs in vogue on the lower Blue Nile is to be found in an Appendix at pp. 342-3, Vol. I. These customs relate to the placing of pebble over the grave in different parts of the region (with local variations in the custom), and placing *burnas* of water by the graves for a few weeks after the burial, round el *Kamlin* on the Blue Nile.

Part IV covers the whole of Volume two, and deals with the native manuscripts of the Sudan, and after a short discussion of their origin, value and limitations, gives translations of thirty-two native manuscripts, with explanatory notes, appendices (giving chronology and dates) and geneological trees.

These volumes will form a valuable, indeed indispensable, introduction to the study of the history and ethnology of the Sudanese Arabs.





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